

Archæologia Cambrensis.

THIRD SERIES, No. XXXIV.—APRIL, 1863.

SUSSEX IRONMASTERS IN GLAMORGANSHIRE.

THE early history of the iron-trade in Wales is involved in considerable obscurity; and the information that exists, relating to it, is very limited and unsatisfactory. We, however, possess ample evidence that the Romans, with the penetration that always characterized that enterprizing and energetic people, had made considerable progress, during their occupation of the country, in developing its mineral resources; and even in Glamorganshire some of their operations in the production of iron may yet be traced. In the year 1752 a considerable deposit of iron cinders was discovered near Miskin¹ (which mansion was then possessed by the late W. Bassett, Esq.), and conveyed to some of the neighbouring ironworks to be resmelted,—the improved machinery and increased blast of more modern works rendering that measure practicable with considerable advantage. Beneath this bed of cinders were discovered a coin of Antoninus Pius, and some earthenware charged with greyhounds, hares, and other sporting devices, which the workmen unfortunately broke to pieces; but the character of the coin and ware, as well as their position *underneath* the bed of cinders, conclusively proved that they had been so placed by the Roman iron-makers.

¹ Archæologia, vol. i.

The very extensive nature of their operations in the contiguous county of Gloucester is well known; and it is more than probable that a district so rich in iron, and possessed of so many facilities for its production, as Glamorganshire, would not have been disregarded by that ingenious people. It is, however, probable that during several centuries subsequent to the departure of the Romans, the iron mines that had been opened by them, had fallen into neglect; and, if worked at all by their successors, the Saxons, were probably carried on at long and uncertain intervals, and to an extent so limited, as barely sufficed for the manufacture of such rude arms and simple agricultural implements as the more pressing necessities of the people required.

Nor does it appear from historical records that any of the early English monarchs directed much attention to the boundless mineral resources of the country, but rather limited their mining operations to explorations in search of the precious metals. The Plantagenet monarchs were generally so absorbed in the domestic conflicts that so frequently characterized their reigns, or engaged in foreign wars, that they seldom possessed leisure to cultivate the peaceful arts, or to develop the natural resources of the country. Until the commencement of the Tudor period, when the occurrence of more peaceful times, and the judicious patronage extended to manufactures, had led to a material extension of iron-works, the trade had languished greatly, and was extremely small and unimportant. Among other places possessed of extensive resources, and presenting desirable positions for the establishment of the manufacture and the economical production of iron, was Glamorganshire, which appears to have partaken of the impetus so generally given at that period to the trade, and to have induced numerous persons, possessed of fortune and enterprise, to embark their capital in those promising speculations. In the county of Sussex several of the most distinguished members of the landed aristocracy had become prosperous ironmasters; and many persons

had sprung from the class of yeomen, or of manufacturers, to that of wealthy landowners, wholly through the profits derived from the production and manufacture of iron. This extension of the iron trade, and the great consumption of wood consequent thereon, attracted very considerable attention; and even at that remote period created grave apprehensions of the rapid extinction of the trade: several acts of a prohibitory and protective character were passed during the reigns of Henry VIII and of the succeeding monarchs, both of the Tudor and Stuart races. The ironworks of that era had probably been established at Aberdare and Merthyr Tydfil in the reign of Henry VIII; and it is possible that the difficulty of obtaining supplies of fuel, together with the restrictions which its increasing scarcity in Sussex rendered it necessary to attach to its consumption, super-added to the manifest advantages which Glamorganshire presented as a comparatively unexplored district, rich in all the materials requisite for the manufacture of iron, and peculiarly adapted for the establishment of such works, induced some of the ironmasters of Sussex to direct their energies and capital to that locality, where they might hope to be relieved, for several years, from many of the restrictions enforced within the Wealds of Sussex, Kent, and Surrey, with respect to the consumption of fuel at ironworks. At that period it is nearly certain that Glamorganshire was a remarkably well-wooded region, and that abundant supplies of fuel could be conveniently and cheaply obtained therein. The mountain summits and the sides of the valleys were alike plentifully clothed with luxuriant woods, and the locality was intersected by numerous rivers and mountain streams, affording admirable sites for the erection of the water-wheels requisite for working the rude blowing apparatus that was then employed. The argillaceous ironstones of the coal-measures also had their outcrops at the heads of the valleys, and so afforded ready access to that important mineral, which in these valleys could be obtained at the surface either by the simple process of

"patching," or possibly by the more ancient system of "scouring."

The abundance of wood at that time in the valleys of the Taff and the Cynon is fully confirmed. We find that Rees Meyrick¹ speaks of the present Llwydcoed estate, on which the important ironworks of that name have been erected, as one of the forests of Glamorgan; and in all conveyances, notwithstanding the present absence of *wood*, it is still described as the "Forest of Llwydcoed." He also mentions the forest of Glin Cynon, which doubtless possessed some importance, and probably comprised the tracts now known as "The Forest," Cefn y Forest, Trocgyrhiw Forest, etc., in the Cynon Valley. It is, indeed, clear that several places which are now called by names indicative of their woody character, are now completely denuded of wood, whether by the exhaustion produced by the ironworks, or from some other cause, and present a remarkably bleak and bare appearance. The sterile region of Cefn-coed-cymmer, above Merthyr, is also said to have been once clothed with wood; which is supposed to have been cleared away, and consumed at the ironworks of that locality. Other places also indicate by their names that extensive woods once existed there, but which are supposed to have been exhausted by the ironworks of the Taff Valley.

Those works are not to be confounded with any of the existing establishments of Merthyr Tydfil, none of which have been erected during a longer period than a hundred years; and have wholly sprung into existence subsequent to, and, it may be said, partially in consequence of, the general application of coke, instead of charcoal fuel, to the manufacture of iron. Though these works have now assumed stupendous proportions, they have arrived at that position slowly; and the greatest progress has been made within the present century. The district of Merthyr Tydfil owes the origin of the modern iron manufactures to the late Mr. Bacon, whose

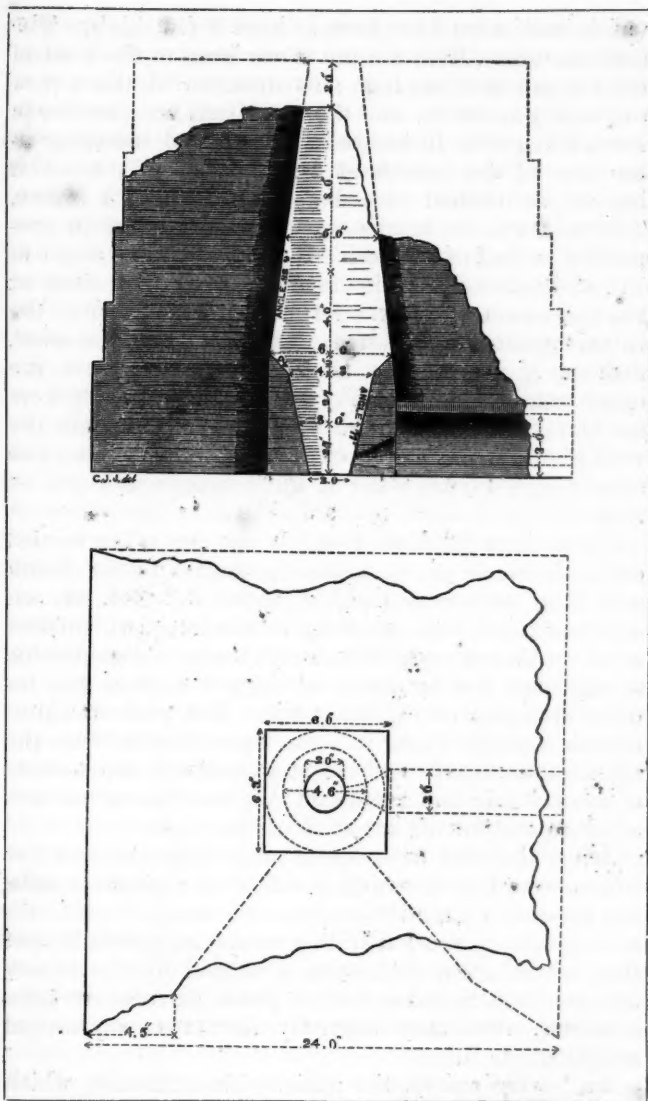
¹ A Book of Glamorganshire Antiquities. By Rees Meyrick, Esq. 1578.

attention seems to have been awakened to the importance and value of its minerals; and who had the foresight to secure a lease of an extensive tract, embracing an extent upwards of eight miles long, by a width of fully four miles, and comprehending the greater portion of the properties connected with the great ironworks of Cyfarthfa, Penydarran, Dowlais, and Plymouth. The rise and progress of those works, and of the populous localities of Aberdare and Merthyr, have, however, been so frequently written upon, that the subject has ceased to possess any features of novelty, or to exhibit any points of interest. I, therefore, purpose limiting my observations in this paper to the ironmaking operations of a considerably earlier period, that may probably be considered to have commenced and terminated with the Tudor era.

Irrespective of the interest which must necessarily attach to operations that preceded by several centuries the gigantic manufactures that have so long rendered Merthyr Tydfil pre-eminent throughout the world, those early ironworks of the valleys of Aberdare and Merthyr possess peculiar interest from the circumstance that they were apparently established and owned by distinguished ironmasters from the county of Sussex, which, at that period, formed the chief seat of the iron trade of the kingdom. Notwithstanding the changes which the extension of mining and manufacturing operations have effected in the districts of Aberdare and Merthyr, considerable remains of those ancient ironworks may yet be traced, and will still, in some instances, afford very accurate indications of their original extent and character. From the most satisfactory traditional accounts I find that, in the Cynon or Aberdare Valley, one of those ancient works, either a blast-furnace or a forge existed at Llwydcoed, where the occurrence of a forest presented facilities for the production of charcoal. The site of those operations has, however, been so completely obliterated, or covered over by cinders and rubbish-tips from the existing works, that no remains of them can

now be discovered ; nor have I succeeded in finding any of the ancient cinder, which, had I done so, would have enabled me to determine whether a blast-furnace or a forge had existed there. It is, however, my impression that the forge was alone erected here ; and that the pig-iron was produced at the blast-furnace that stood on the site of the Duffryn, or Aberpennar Mill, into which some of the old machinery of the works may subsequently have been converted. Large heaps of blast-furnace cinder still mark the spot where the furnace stood ; and the operations must have been considerable for that age. The old mill is situated within a short distance of the present Duffryn House, and on the property of John Bruce-Pryce, Esq. The position of the furnace, on the Aberpennar brook, leads to the inference that it was so placed to secure the advantage of water power to work the blowing machinery ; for, at another blast furnace, that still stands in the valley of Cwm Aman, (and here, also, on the property of John Bruce-Pryce, Esq.), we possess ample evidence of the existence, at one period, of a water wheel, as the remains of the water-course that communicated with the wheel, and conveyed the water from the adjoining brook, have not yet been wholly obliterated, and its traces are still distinctly discernible. Indeed, so well preserved was the furnace, that, with little labour, the ruins were cleared, and its original form and dimensions so clearly and accurately shown, that I was enabled to prepare an accurate sectional drawing of it, which will afford an interesting comparison with the enormous sizes to which some of the present coke furnaces have attained.

The furnace was built with sandstone, belonging to the Pennant series of the neighbourhood, which appears to have acted well for the purpose : it was also lined with the same material, and neither fire-bricks, nor the conglomerate usually designated as "plum-pudding stone," were employed. The extreme height of the furnace was about 16 feet to the *top of the chimney*,



Section of Furnace.

which itself must have been at least 2 feet high. The internal cavity, from the top of the bosh to the head of the furnace, is 8 feet high; its diameter at the top of the bosh was 5 feet; and the bosh itself was peculiar in form, being only 10 inches in height, and inclining to the top of the hearth at an angle of 45° , when it became diminished to a diameter of 4 feet 3 inches. The height of the hearth was unusually great in proportion to that of the bosh; it inclined at an angle of 77° , and was 5 feet 2 inches high, and diminished at the bottom to 2 feet. At its outer extremity, the tuyere opening was 3 feet in height, and 2 feet wide, and was approached by an arch, extending from the outer wall of the furnace. The hearth and bosh were circular in form, but the latter was then gradually worked off into a square, and so extended upwards. The square of the outer walls of the furnace was about 24 feet.

From these furnaces the iron was probably carried on the backs of mules along the course of the brook and river, either up to Llwydcoed, if, as I suspect, a forge existed there, or down to the forge, which then stood on Cwm Cynon farm, and of which considerable remains, as well as large deposits of cinder, still indicate the site of the old work. The ancient water-course, through which the wheel was supplied from the river Cynon, is still visible; and there are appearances of an old forge pond, that has now been converted into a horse-pond for the use of the farm.

It is probable that there may have been other furnaces and forges in this valley at various periods, but those to which I have referred were so evidently associated together, and it appears so probable that they formed the actual works possessed by the Sussex iron-masters, to whom I shall more particularly refer hereafter, that they naturally attract our principal attention.

In the Taff valley, the ancient blast furnace, which apparently belonged to the same parties, still exists at

a place called Pontyryn, opposite the Plymouth furnaces, though it has now become in a ruinous condition, and is gradually being undermined and carried away by the river. When I knew it first, about twenty years ago, the remains were in considerably better preservation; and its dimensions might at that time have been arrived at without much difficulty. Some traces of the forge, at which the iron produced at the Pontyryn furnace was supposed to have been converted, can also be seen at a place now called Pontygwaith, which is situated about two miles below the furnace, and a short distance only above the recently constructed viaduct that carries the Aberdare Extension of the West Midland Railway across the Taff Valley. A large quantity of forge cinders were discovered at this place about forty years back: the late Mr. Anthony Hill, of Plymouth Iron Works, near Merthyr, conveyed a considerable portion to his furnaces and remelted them. The water-course that conveyed the water from the river Taff to the water-wheel may yet be traced; and the wattled weir that diverted the water into that channel out of the river may still be discerned. Another forge, of smaller dimensions, appears to have existed at Cwm Gwernlas, a little valley, tributary to the Taff, and unites with it close to the present old Plymouth blast furnaces, and which probably possessed, at that period, the two important requisites for a forge of that age—wood and water: this, also, I believe to have been connected with the old Pontyryn furnace. It is very probable that the old house at Plymouth works, where the excellent proprietor, the late Mr. Anthony Hill, so long resided, belonged to one of the Sussex iron-masters, who had made his residence at Merthyr Tydfil; for it appears that, about forty years ago, Mr. Hill, in effecting extensive alterations in the house, discovered a remarkably beautiful old fire-back, which I conjecture may have been produced and cast at Pontyryn furnace by one of the early proprietors, as an ornament to his residence. The casting was presented

by Mr. Hill to the late Mr. David Mushet, the eminent metallurgist; and is now in the possession of his son, Mr. Robert Mushet, by whose courtesy I have been permitted to have a drawing made of it. It possesses considerable artistic taste, and greatly resembles some of the best examples of castings produced at that period in some of the principal works of Sussex, of which numerous specimens still exist in the possession of various persons resident in that county. The action of the fire has slightly obliterated a portion of the design upon the casting; but, on the whole, it remains in considerable perfection. The greater part of the motto of the Garter, ...Y SOIT QVE MALE Y may be distinctly read; and the royal arms, France and England quarterly, upon a shield, occupy the centre space within the garter. The garter is surmounted by a crown, while the two corners have the initial letters, E. R., probably those of Edward VI. In the two lower corners there are traces of



some ornaments that are greatly effaced by fire, but which appear to be fleurs-de-lis. In the works of Sussex

these formed a favourite device with the founders of that age; which is probably accounted for by the circumstance that many German and French founders were brought over to that county and employed at the works. The chimney-back is surmounted by the date 1553,¹ and is a singularly interesting casting. I have never yet seen in Wales so good a specimen.² It must have been run direct from the blast-furnace; and it may, at this time, be regarded in quality as strong forge-iron, mottled towards the edge, which gives hardness and great strength.

In Sussex similar castings are not uncommon. Various devices were employed by the early founders; but the royal arms and badges were of the most frequent occurrence. The castings that are now usually found are principally andirons and chimney-backs; but several monumental slabs also occur in some of the churches of Sussex.³

In addition to the works at Merthyr and Aberdare, the Sussex ironmasters also possessed a forge, which is described in the old papers as "Penbough," in the parish of Llantrissaint. This name at first considerably perplexed me, until I discovered a place called "Penbwch," where remains of ancient iron works existed; and which I felt satisfied was identical with the "Penbough" of the old Sussex ironmasters, to whose Saxon tongue the word "Penbwch" proved quite impracticable. The forge was situated in a small valley, extending

¹ The date upon the casting is 1553, and it has the initial letters, E. R. The king, however, died on the 6th of July in that year, when Mary succeeded.

² I have been informed by Mr. Jenkins of the Cefn Glâs Farm, near Pontygwaith, that an old casting existed in that neighbourhood a few years back, which had probably been cast at Pontyryn furnace, and had upon it the date of 1579. I was also informed by the same person that he had often seen an old fire-back in a house at Pontygwaith ornamented with a design of the temptation of our first parents, and having the representation of Adam and Eve, and the serpent creeping around the tree. The date upon the plate was 1629, which shews that the works were at that period in operation.

³ Lower, in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. ii.

upwards by the mansion of Castellau, into the hills occurring on the north of Llantrissaint town. The position was apparently selected from its possessing considerable water-power in the brook that flows down this valley, and the occurrence of extensive supplies of wood for the use of the forge. The blast-furnace in Rhondda fach also belonged to the same parties; but the hearth has been removed, and the old work rendered a shapeless ruin. The difficulty of maintaining supplies of charcoal rendered it necessary to plant the works at considerable distances apart, and in well-wooded districts; and hence their distribution over so extended an area.

A highly interesting description of the mode of making iron that was adopted in Sussex in the seventeenth century, and which was probably practised, with little variation, at the Tudor period, is given by the eminent naturalist, John Ray, in the papers that are appended to his *Collection of English Words*.¹ This account of the process was supplied to Ray by "his learned friend, Walter Burrell, of Cuckfield, Esq.," who was one of the most eminent ironmasters in the county of Sussex.

"THE MANNER OF THE IRON-WORK AT THE FURNACE.

"The iron mine lies sometimes deeper, sometimes shallower in the earth, from four to forty and upward.

"There are several sorts of mine, some hard, some gentle, some rich, some coarser. The ironmasters always mix different sorts of mine together, otherwise they will not melt to advantage.

"When the mine is brought in, they take small coal and lay a row of it, and upon that a row of mine, and so alternately, S.S.S., one above another; and, setting the coals on fire therewith, burn the mine.

"The use of this burning is to mollify it, that so it may be broke in small pieces; otherwise, if it should be put into the furnace as it comes out of the earth, it would not melt, but come away whole.

"Care also must be taken that it be not too much burned, for then it will loop, *i.e.*, melt and run together in a mass. After

¹ Ray's *English Words not Generally Used*, published originally in 1672.

it is burnt they beat it into small pieces with an iron sledge, and then put it into the furnace, (which is before charged with coals), casting it upon the top of the coals, where it melts and falls into the hearth in the space of about twelve hours, more or less, and then it runs into a sow.

"The hearth, or bottom of the furnace, is made of a sandstone, and the sides round, to the height of a yard or thereabout. The rest of the furnace is lined up to the top with brick.

"When they begin upon a new furnace, they put fire for a day or two before they begin to blow. Then they blow gently, and increase by degrees, till they come to the height, in two weeks or more.

"Every six days they call a *founday*; in which space they make eight tun of iron, if you divide the whole sum of iron made by the *foundays*; for at first they make less in a *founday*, at last more.

"The hearth, by the force of the fire continually blown, grows wider and wider; so that at first it contains so much as will make a sow of six or seven hundred pound weight, at last it will contain so much as will make a sow of two thousand pound. The lesser pieces, of one thousand pound or under, they call pigs.

"Of twenty-four loads of coals, they expect eight tun of sows. To every load of coals, which consists of eleven quarters, they put a load of mine, which contains eighteen bushels.

"A hearth ordinarily, if made of good stone, will last forty *foundays*,—that is, forty weeks, during which time the fire is never let go out. They never blow twice upon one hearth, though they go upon it not above five or six *foundays*. The cinder, like scum, swims upon the melted metal in the hearth, and is let out once or twice before a sow is cast.

"THE MANNER OF WORKING THE IRON AT THE FORGE OR HAMMER.

"In every forge or hammer there are two fires at least: the one they call the *finery*, the other the *chafery*.

"At the *finery*, by the working of the hammer, they bring it into *blooms* and *anconies* thus: the sow at first they roll into the fire, and melt off a piece of about three-fourths of a hundred-weight, which, as soon as it is broken off, is called a *loop*. This *loop* they take out with their shingling tongs, and beat it with iron sledges upon an iron plate near the fire, that so it may not fall in pieces, but be in a capacity to be carried under the hammer; under which they, then removing it, and drawing a little water, beat it with the hammer very gently, which forces

cinder and dross out of the matter: afterwards, by degrees, drawing more water, they beat it thicker and strong, till they bring it to a *bloom*, which is a four-square mass of about two feet long. This operation is called *shingling the loop*. This done, they immediately return it to the *finery* again; and after two or three heats in working, they bring it to an *ancony*, the figure whereof is, in the middle, a bar about three feet long, of that shape they intend the whole bar to be made of it; at both ends a square piece, left rough to be wrought at the *chafery*.

"*Note*.—At the *finery* three loads of the biggest coals go to make one tun of iron.

"At the *chafery* they only draw out of the two ends suitable to what was drawn out at the *finery*, in the middle, and so finish the bar.

"*Note 1*.—One load of the smaller coals will draw out one tun of iron at the *chafery*.

"2.—They expect that one man and a boy at the *finery* should make two tuns of iron in a week. Two men at the *chafery* should take up, *i.e.* make or work, five or six tun in a week.

"3.—If into the hearth where they work the iron sows (whether the *chafery* or the *finery*), you cast upon the iron a piece of brass, it will hinder the metal from working, causing it to sputter about, so that it cannot be brought into a solid piece."

It is probable that some of the Sussex ironmasters had migrated into Glamorganshire so early as the reign of Henry VIII, for they were clearly located there in the succeeding reign of his son, Edward VI, and able to execute castings of superior character. The ancient fire-back found at Plymouth House was doubtless produced at the old Pontyryn work during the reign of that monarch, as the date of 1553 is found upon it. But the documentary evidence which I possess does not extend to a remoter period than the reign of Elizabeth, when, about the year 1586, one of the partners became bankrupt, and his affairs formed in consequence the subject of considerable litigation. Many of the legal documents are still preserved at the Record Office, among the proceedings of the Court of Chancery during the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and they chiefly relate to a gentleman of the name of Anthony Morley, who had fallen into embarrassed circumstances. The earliest proceedings that I have discovered were commenced in the

shape of a petition addressed by Morley's widow to Sir Christopher Hatton, who was at that time Lord Chancellor, complaining of numerous grievances, and representing that she had lodged a bill of complaint against Sir Edward Stradling, Knight;¹ Thomas Mansell, Anthony Mansell, Watkin Lougher, John Gwyn, and Griffith Williams, Esqrs. ; and setting forth that her late husband, Anthony Morley, was, about three years back, the owner of certain freehold lands, tenements, and hereditaments, situated in the parish of Llanwonno in the county of Glamorgan, of the value of £200 or £300 ; and also interested in certain leases, of which several years were unexpired, in tracts of woods and underwoods called "The Forest"; and in other places in the parish of Llanwonno, of the value of £400 or £500. She alleged that he was likewise possessed of a forge and iron-furnace, together with a third share of an iron-forge situated in the parishes of Llanwynno and Merthyr Tydfil, and assumed to be worth, with all the tools, implements, and materials connected therewith, "at least £1,000." By reason of bad debts and other "casual misfortunes," she represents that her husband had incurred debts to the amount of about £500, to some of his creditors ; among whom were William Mathew, Esq. ; Constance Relfe, widow ; Nicholas Chatfield, yeoman ; John Vyne, and others ; and under the supposition that he would become a bankrupt, that they had preferred a petition and bill of complaint to the late Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Bromley, asserting that her husband, Anthony Morley, was indebted to them to the amount of £600, and praying that a commission might issue for the sale of all his goods, lands, and tenements, in order to satisfy those and other debts.

¹ These were gentlemen of the highest distinction in Glamorgan-shire. Sir Edward Stradling, Knt., was high sheriff during 1574, 1583, and 1596. Thomas and Anthony Mansell were probably the eldest and second son of Sir Edward Mansell of Margam Abbey. Watkin Lougher was of Tythegston, near Bridgend, and possessed of considerable estates. John Gwynn was one of the Lansanno family. Griffith Williams I am unable to identify.

A commission was accordingly granted, under the great seal, to Sir Thomas Stradling, Knight, and Thos. Mansell, Anthony Mansell, Watkin Lougher, John Gwyn, and Griffith Williams, Esqrs., authorizing them to dispose of all the lands, woods, and works, of the said Anthony Morley, for the purpose of discharging his debts; and in the thirtieth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth the whole of those woods and works were sold to one Thomas Menyfee.

The commissioners, finding a clear surplus of £500, or £600,¹ made an allowance to the widow of £40 a year, for a period of eight years, out of the proceeds of the sale, to be secured by the purchaser, Menyfee, upon the property. The widow represented that, upon the faith of the commissioners' assurance, she had removed from the dwelling house attached to the iron-works, and had resigned possession of all the works to Menyfee, who, she asserts, carried on the works afterwards, and realised thereby at least £1000, beyond the debts owing by Morley. Shortly after the sale of the works and property, and about the year 1587, Morley died, leaving his widow and four children wholly unprovided for beyond the annuity so directed by the commissioners to be charged upon the estate, and which had been assigned by the widow to her brother Edmund Mitchel, as security for the sum of £140, that had been borrowed from him by her. In her application, she complains that the commissioners and Menyfee had disregarded their promise, and neglected to pay any portion of the annuity of £40 a year, and so deprived the widow and orphans of Morley of

¹ To estimate the amounts which these sums represented with any degree of correctness, the altered value of money must be considered. It may be roughly calculated as twelve to one. In those days the qualification of a county gentleman to be a justice of the peace, was only £20 per annum. Fat oxen were sold for 26s. 8d., and fat wethers and fat calves for 3s. 4d. each, and fat lambs for 12d. In 1570, beef could be bought in gross for a halfpenny a pound. The best pig or goose in a county market could be bought for 4d., a good capon for 3d., a chicken for 1d., and a hen for 2d.

their sole support. At the filing of the complaint, the annuity had continued in arrear upwards of a year, and the complainant confessed that she was unable to produce witnesses to prove the arrangement and promise made by the commissioners, who, she says, "were men of great worshipp, powre and reputacon in their countrey, such as your orators are not by suyte in lawe lykelie to prevaile agaynst:" she then prays the court to appoint another commission to examine the original commissioners on oath as to the facts she alleges. His lordship thereupon appears to have issued the required commission, which consisted of Thomas Lewis,¹ Miles Button, and Edmund Mathews, Esqrs., and Gabriel Lewis, gent., and Edward Jones, gent.; and they made an order, in which the widow of the late Thomas Menyfee, the deceased, concurred; but, inasmuch as she had not been a party to the several suits, nor her deceased husband, the widow of Morley prayed that Menyfee's widow, and administratrix, should be made a party to the cause, and so be rendered liable to fulfil any conditions imposed by the chancellor's decree.

To this complaint Elizabeth Menyfee replies, that the commissioners arranged the sale of Morley's land to Menyfee, and secured the annuity payable to Morley's widow and children upon the property: that annuity she was fully prepared to pay, provided the court would direct how, and in what proportions, the money should be paid, and give instructions for a proper discharge being given for the same, inasmuch as the annuity was payable for the joint benefit of the children and their mother, and that the children were still infants, and therefore unable to give a valid discharge. She further

¹ This Thomas Lewis, Esq., was probably of Vann, a gentleman of great wealth and distinction. He was high sheriff in 1570 and 1587. Myles Button was of Worlton; was high sheriff in 1571 and in 1589. Edward Mathews, Esq., was of Radir, and high sheriff in 1593. Gabriel Lewis was of Llanishan, and was under-sheriff when Lewis of Van was sheriff, in 1587; was high sheriff in 1615. Edward Jones was probably the same who was county clerk in 1579, when James Thomas, Esq., was sheriff.

proceeded to state that the commissioners last appointed to receive evidence and settle the case had made a final order that she should pay to the widow and children of Anthony Morley the sum of £138, in the following proportions, viz., £80 at the next feast of the purification of the Virgin Mary, £58 on the next feast day of Philip and Jacob, and £40 yearly, on every 1st of May, during four years next ensuing, "the saide paiment to be made uppon the greate stone at Cardiffe, in the Countie of Glamorgan, in the high streete there between the hours of twelve and foure of the clocke." Elizabeth Menyfee expresses her readiness to fulfil those conditions, but alleges, with regard to the payment of the money, that "her abilitye is weake," and entreats that the court will assign longer periods for payment, and also determine the proportions in which the money shall be paid to the widow and children, and enable a sufficient discharge to be given to her (the widow of Menyfee), and secure her henceforth in the full possession of the property formerly belonging to Anthony Morley.

On the 16th of October, 1590, another case, relating to some of these ironworks, was again brought before the court of chancery, in the form of a petition to Sir Christopher Hatton, the lord chancellor. The petition emanated from Robert Martin, gent., of Aberdare, and Elizabeth his wife, the widow of Thomas Menyfee, and sets forth that Constance Relfe, the wife of James Hobson, gent., and widow of Wm. Relfe, gent., was possessed, as administratrix of the goods and chattels of her late husband, of a third share of an iron forge, furnace, and ironworks, situate in Llanwonno, Glamorganshire, late in the occupation of Anthony Morley, gent., Richard Waters, and John Watkyns, and of all the houses, lands, tenements, yards for charcoal and mine, cinder and iron, watercourses, and all the requirements of an iron establishment; and had agreed to sell to the late Thomas Menyfee her entire interest in those works for the sum of £600, of which the sum of £550 had already been paid, and the remaining £50 remained

to be paid at a day "yett to come." The sale included the entire interest of Constance Relfe, not only in the works, but in the implements and tools connected therewith, and which "she had, or ought to have had, in the saide Countye of Glamorgan, appertaininge unto the saide forge, furnaces, ironworks, and all suche woods and underwoods, myne, good leases, chattells, libertie to cutte coole, digge and cary, and all the privileges and authorytyes as the saide Constance and Richard Chenye, of Crawley, in the County of Sussex, Esq., and Gregory Relfe" possessed; and also including her lease of Penbough Farm and lands, in the parish of Llantrissaint, and in all the woods thereon, she also undertaking to furnish to Thomas Menyfee various papers and documents relating thereto. It was, however, complained that those documents were withheld during the lifetime of Thomas Menyfee, and that Constance Rolfe had refused to furnish them up to this time, so causing considerable inconvenience and damage to Elizabeth Menyfee, and being likely to cause considerable further injury to her, if the documents in question were still retained. She, therefore, prays his lordship to order a "writ of subpena" to be directed to Jas. Hobson and Constance his wife, requiring them to appear before the court to answer this complaint: their reply was that, while admitting the representations of the complainants as to the sale of the premises mentioned to Menyfee, they utterly denied that Constance Rolfe entered into any agreement with him for the delivery of any papers relating to such premises and works, and declared that she did not possess any "muniments" relating to the property, or in "any wise material thereto."

This answer elicited an explication from Robert Morton and his wife Elizabeth, in which they reiterated the statement that such an agreement as they had described positively existed between Thomas Menyfee and Constance Relfe, and that its purport was that he (Menyfee) should shortly have delivered to him sundry

papers and documents relating to the property sold to him, and which the said Constance Rolfe could then have obtained, and repeating that the defendants detained the papers, and refused to give them up to Martin and his wife.

The substance of the whole of the subjoined papers is embraced in this short abstract; and I have not succeeded in discovering any other documents relating to these old works, or their proprietors, at the Records Office. It appears that Constance Rolfe continued to reside at Aberdare after her second marriage, and the disposal of her interest in the ironworks to Menyfee; and it may be assumed that her second husband and herself had become connected with some other iron-making establishments in that neighbourhood.

As I have already stated, the parties concerned in those Glamorganshire works were chiefly Sussex ironmasters, and were, at that time, or had been previously, engaged in the manufacture of iron in that county, and allied to some of the best families therein. Anthony Morley was unquestionably a member of the wealthy and distinguished family of that name in Sussex; and I strongly suspect that he must have been identical with the "Anthony Morley," whose name frequently appears in some of the genealogical accounts of Sussex families, as living at the period when Anthony Morley was the lessee and proprietor of the works in Glamorganshire. The different accounts do not, however, quite accord; for in Berry's *Sussex Genealogies*, he is represented to have been married to Joane, daughter of — Fenne, and widow of Edward Shirley, while in the *Visitation of Sussex*, contained in the Harleian Collection, the name of his wife is not given, and he is simply described as having "died without issue." On the other hand, the Anthony Morley, who had removed into Glamorganshire, left a widow and four children, who were named respectively Herbert, William, Margaret, and Anne. His widow appears, after his death, to have married her late husband's

partner, John Watkyns. I am unable to prove indisputably that the "Anthony Morley," of Sussex, and he of Glamorganshire, were identical; but the supposition that they were so, is not without probability: my impression is that he was twice married, and that after the assumed death of his first wife, he proceeded into Glamorganshire, and, marrying and dying there, his subsequent marriage, and the particulars of his children, did not appear in any of the subsequent Visitations of Sussex. We find that John Morley, whom I suppose to be his third brother, made his will in 1563, and directed a hospital to be founded at Lewes, while it appears that Anthony Morley, our Welsh ironmaster, died about the year 1586, and may have been considerably advanced in life when he died. As, lending some slight additional probability to my view, I may mention that his eldest son was named Herbert; and that this was probably a family name, as the grandson of Anthony's supposed brother William was called Herbert, and was a colonel in the army, and M.P. for Lewes, during the government of Oliver Cromwell. If my impression be correct, and the two Anthonys were identical, this person must have been a member of one of the most distinguished families in the county of Sussex. The family is known as that of Morley of Glynde, which manor belonged, at a very early period, to the lords of Glynde; but, by the marriage of a heiress, Dionesia, to Sir Richard Whalley, knt., the property was carried into that family. It continued in their possession during five generations, when Joan, daughter and coheiress of Sir John Whalley, of Glynde, knt., married Nicholas Morley, of Winnington, Lancashire, and so carried the estate and manorial rights of Glynde to the Morleys. The property remained in the possession of that distinguished family until about the year 1680, when it passed in marriage, with the widow of Wm. Morley, to John Trevor, eldest son of Sir John Trevor, secretary of state to Charles II, since which its proprietorship has undergone numerous changes. Anthony Morley was the second son of Thos.

Morley of Glynde, who appears to have left six sons, whose names were respectively William, Anthony, John, Thomas, Edmund, and Ralph. The grandson of William, the eldest son, as I have stated before incidentally, was Herbert Morley of Glynd, a colonel in the army, M.P. for Lewes in the two last parliaments of Charles I and the last of Cromwell, and also one of the regicides. He died in the year 1667, aged fifty-two; and was then possessed of ironworks at Hawksden, which descended to his sons. The Morleys were a family of ironmasters; and, like many of the great landholders of Sussex engaged in the trade, had added greatly to their wealth by those operations.¹

The Morleys bore for their arms: *Sa.* three leopard's faces *or*, jessant a fleur-de-lis *arg.*; their crest being a man in complete armour, ppr. garnished *or*, in his dexter hand a baton of the last, across his body a sash.

The leopard's head jessant-de-lys was a peculiar bearing derived from the achievements of the English in France during the wars of Edward III, who is said to have bestowed those arms upon some of his followers, in commemoration of their having served under him in his victorious campaigns.

The person who may be considered next in prominence in this inquiry is Constance Relfe, who belonged to the distinguished family of Cheney, and was the sister of Richard Cheney, Esquire, of Cralle, who was an extensive ironmaster in Sussex, and possessed some interest in the Glamorganshire works. Constance Cheney married William Relfe, the second son of William Relfe, of Mayfield, in the county of Sussex; and, after his death, became the wife of James Hobson,

¹ The family of Morley has not yet become extinct in Glamorganshire, and several of the descendants may yet be found in the district. At one period some members of the family were connected with the old furnace at Melincourt, in the Vale of Neath. An old gentleman of the name of Morley lived, some years back, near Whitechurch; and his grandson is now residing at Blackwood as a highly respectable surveyor. Many of the descendants may be found in the Taff Valley.

described as of Aberdare, but most probably a native of Sussex or Kent. There were two families of that name in Sussex, one being of Shipley, and the other of Chichester; but they did not bear similar arms. I have, however, failed to obtain any particulars of the Hobson who married Constance Relfe. By her first husband, Relfe, she had one son and two daughters; but I can find no further traces of them.

Cralle is situated in the parish of Warbleton, and the ancient mansion of that name, of which there is a drawing¹ in the Burrell manuscripts, belonged to the Cheneys. They owned the Cralle, or Crawley furnace and forge, and were wealthy and distinguished ironmasters, allied to many of the landed aristocracy. The Cheneys of Cralle bore for their arms: *Erm.* on a bend *sa.*, three martlets *arg.*, with a crescent for difference. Crest: a bull's scalp *or*, attired *arg.* In that parish also resided the well known martyr, Richard Woodman, who, with nine other protestants, was burned at the stake at Lewes, in the year 1557. The site of his ironwork is still pointed out upon a brook in the parish. His operations must have been very extensive; for in one of his examinations before the bishop of Winchester,² he says, "Let me go home, I pray you, to my wife and children, to see them kept, and the poore folke that I woulde set aworke, by the helpe of God. I have set aworke *a hundred persons*, ere this, all the yeare together." Woodman is held in high respect, and mentioned as a worthy and pious man, most ardently devoted to religion, and conscientiously opposed to the popish system. He was unquestionably a most devoted martyr, who, for conscience's sake, and that he might remain true to his God, gave up his life by a painful and horrible death.

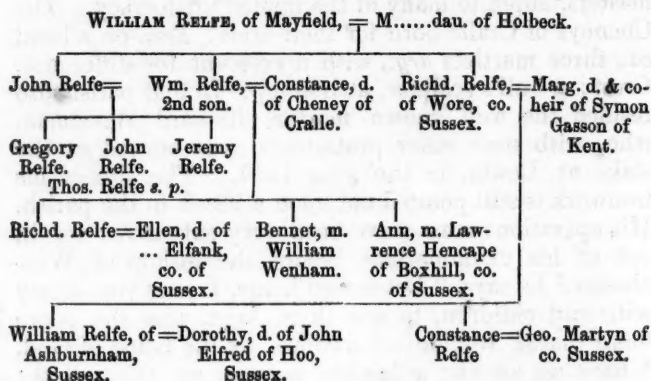
Gregory Relfe, again, whose name is mentioned as a proprietor of some of these works, was one of the sons of John Relfe, the elder brother of William Relfe, and

¹ Burrell MSS., British Museum.

² The merciless Gardiner.

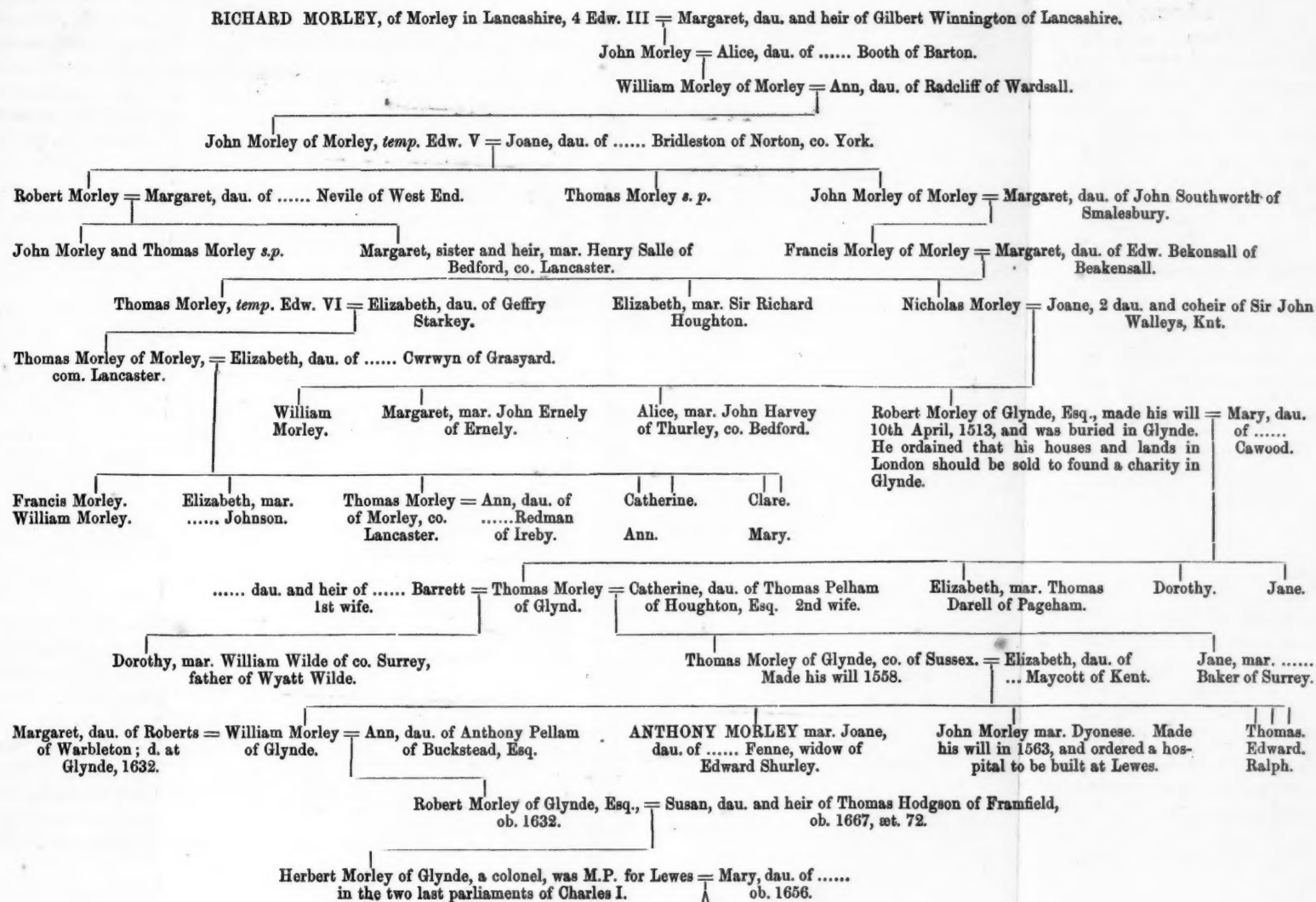
consequently a nephew by marriage of Constance Relfe. The Relfes were Sussex ironmasters, and owned the works at Mayfield. They afterwards became possessed of the Ashburnham property, which was obtained by William Relfe, by purchase from Sir John Ashburnham; and were a family of considerable wealth and importance. The accompanying pedigree shows their relation to Constance Relfe, and the connection of the Relfe family with the Glamorganshire ironworks. Their arms were *sa.* two chef *erm.* between three greyhounds' heads erased *or* collared *gu.*

PEDIGREE OF RELFE.



The name of Monyfee is very uncommon. I have failed to learn any particulars of Thomas Menyfee, the successor of Anthony Morley, in the occupation of the works. The family was Kentish, and unquestionably of considerable respectability. They were probably connected with some of the numerous works at that period in operation in the wealds of Kent or Sussex. Originally, the family emigrated into Kent from Devonshire; and, so far as relates to that branch, appear in the Heralds' Visitations for that county, though I have failed to discover any trace of Thomas Menyfee.

MORLEY PEDIGREE.



In Glamorganshire, the name appears to have become quite extinct.

I have been equally unsuccessful in gleaning any particulars of Robert Martyn, the second husband of Elizabeth Menyfee; but it appears that he resided at Aberdare after his marriage. My impression is that he likewise was a native either of Sussex or Kent.

Edward Mitchell, the brother of Morley's widow, is described as of Weston, in the county of Hereford. He was probably an ironmaster also, as Weston is situated in the ancient iron district of Penyard, Bollitree, etc., and very near to the outcrop of the Forest of Dean coal-field, where very extensive operations were at one period carried on. The name of Mitchel occurs as one of the partners of Sir Richard Martyn in the wireworks of Tintern Abbey, nearly at the same period, 1594, and he may possibly have been the same individual.

John Watkyns, the second husband of Bridget Morley, has altogether eluded my researches; but his partner Richard Waters very probably belonged to the family that sold the Glyn, or Trosnant furnace, at Pontypool, to the Hanbury family, and who appear to have possessed several ironworks in that neighbourhood. One of the last descendants of the Waterses was an old man of the same name, who appears to have clung to the spot of his ancestors' prosperity, and to have always resided near the old Trosnant furnace. He possessed numerous traditions relating to these works, the recollection of which probably few have retained. He died about thirty years back, at a great age; and I can remember his long white beard and patriarchal appearance very distinctly.

I have failed to obtain any authentic information relative to the operations at these works, subsequent to the period to which my observations relate. It is, however, represented, by the tradition floating in the district, and generally credited, that they continued at work during a further period of about sixty years; and were then partially demolished, about the year 1645,

by some of the troops of Cromwell. The proprietors of the works at Pontygwaith and Pontyrn, if not of others also, are represented to have been, at that period, a Mr. Anthony Lewis, of Troedyrhiw, near Merthyr Tydfil; a Mr. Henry Cook, of Tyr Cook, on Cefn y Forest; and another gentleman, whose name I have failed to ascertain, but who resided at Ty Mawr, Pontygwaith. This Mr. Anthony Lewis is said to have been a warm adherent of the royalists, and hence the destruction of the ironworks by Cromwell; for we find that he adopted a similar policy in Sussex, by demolishing all the works that belonged to members of the cavalier party in that county.

W. LLEWELLIN, F.S.A.

Glanwern, Pontypool.
Nov. 1862.

APPENDIX.

Among the records deposited in the Public Record Office, London, to wit, bills and answers in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, M.M. 6, No. 53, it is thus contained:

Novemb'r 1589.

To the Righte Honorable S'r Christopher Hatton of
the moste noble Order of the garter Knighte
Lord Chancellor of England

Moste humb.....wen unto your Lordeshipp' your daylie Orators Edward Michell of Weston in the countie of Hereforde John Watkins and Brigett his wyef aswell on their owne behalf as also for and on the behalfe of Herbert Morley Willyam Morley Margarette ...eley and Anne Morley the children and orphans of Anthonie Morley deceased begotten on the bodie of the saide Bridget late his wyef. That whereas before this tyme (that is to saye) in the terme of St. Michael in the ...xth & xxxth yeare of her Ma't's raigne your saide orators did exhibit unto your Lordeshipp in this honorable Courte a bill of complaynte agaynste S'r Edward Stradlinge Knighte Thomas Maunsell Anthonie Maunsell Watkin Lowgher John Gwyn.... Griffith Williams esquiers, complayninge thereby, That whereas the saide Anthonie Morley deceased then of late (that is to saye) aboute three yeares then paste beinge not onlie seised in

his demeane as of fee of and in certen freeholde ...des tenem'ts and hereditam'ts lyinge in the p'ishes of Llanwyn'o in the countie of Glamorgan to the valewe of twoe or three hundred pounds. But was also possessed as of his p'per goodes and chattelles of and in dyvers and sondrie leasses for ...me of sondrie yeares yet enduringe of and uppon sondrie woodes and underwoodes called by the name of the forest and by other names in Llanwyn'oe aforesaid beinge to the valewe of foure or fyve hundred poundes. And was also possessed of one ...on worke or forge and of an iron fornace & of a thirde p'te of an iron forge lyinge in the p'ishes of Lanwynoe & M'ther Tydwill in the saide countie of Glamorgan, w^{ch} saide iron workes forges and fornaces together wth the implem'ts furniture iron or iron stone and other necessities thereof weare of the ...lewe of a thowsand pounds at the least. And soe beinge seised and possessed and beinge by trade an iron' mayster, and havinge by the meanes of badd debto's and other casuall mysfortunes fallen behynd hand wth some of his credito's to the ...ewe of fyve hundreth pounds or thereabouts, yt soe happened that he the same Anthonie Morley grewe unable to make p'sente paym't of his debts aforesaide. By meanes whereof one Will'm Mathewe esquier Constans Ralf wydowe ...icholas Chatfyeld yeoman John Vyne and certen others beinge the credito's of the same Anthonie Morley supposinge the saide Anthonie to beco'me banckerupt did aboute the moneth of Marche in the xxviiijth yeare of her Ma't's raigne ...ferr their petic'on and bill of complaynte to the Righte Honorable S'r Thomas Bromley Knighte deceased then Lorde Chauncello' of England declaringe the saide Anthonie to be indebted unto them and others in or aboutes the so'me of sixe ...dred pounds and that he had become banckerupt and absented hymself, and therefore prayed a co'mission myghte be awarded for the sall of all his goods chattelles lands and tenem'ts towards the satisfacc'on of the debts aforesaid accordinge ... the statute in that behalf made and p'vyded. Accordinge to w^{ch} their requeste in that behalf unto the saide late Lord Chauncello' made, yt then pleased his Lordeshipp' to awarde furthe a co'mission under her Highnes greate seale of ...gland unto S'r Edward Stradlinge Knight, Thomas Maunsell esquier Anthonie Maunsell esquier, Griffith Wilyams esquier, Watkin Lowgher and John Gwyn' and to so'me others directed auctorisinge and enhablinge them or anie three of them to ... and execute all and whatsoever apperteyned by them to be don for and concerninge the sale of the saide lands tenem'ts goodes, chattelles and leases of the saide Anthonie towards the aunsweringe and satisfyinge of the saide

sev'all debtes and for doinge and ...ecutinge of all that w^{ch} by the saide statute of banckerupts was to be don' and executed as by the same co'mission awarded out of this courte playnlie appereth: By vertue of w^{ch} co'mission they the saide S'r Edward Stradlinge Thomas Maunsell ...nthonie Maunsell Watkin Lowgher, John Gwyn' and Griffith Willyams did aboute the xvijth of Maye in the said xxvijth yeare of her Ma't's raigne make p'sente sale unto one Thomas Menyffe as well of all and ev'y the saide freeholds landes leases iron'workes goods ...hat-tells and other things w^{ch} were the saide Anthonie Morleyes as then in the whole amountinge to the valewe of xvj^{ch} upon w^{ch} sale so made the same co'missioners findinge as then in s'plusage fyve or sixe hundred poundes de claro (all debtes beinge ...ischarged) they the same co'myssioners did for the relief succo' ayde and maynetenance of your saide oratrix Bridgitt Watkins then wyef of the saide Anthonie and of her foure poore desolate children w^{ch} shee had by the same Anthonie assigne ...ppoynte and allot unto her the said Bridgit the so'me of xlii. by yeare to be payde unto her ev'ye yeare duringe eighte yeres then to co'me oute of all the saide ironworkes leasses and woodes. W^{ch} yerelie allowaunce stipend and exhibition for and in ...onsiderac'on of the overplus of the value of the saide lands and goodes exceedinge the so'me of the debts they the saide S'r Edward Stradlinge Thomas Maunsell Anthonie Maunsell Watkyn Lowgher John Gwyn' and Griffith Willyams the co'missioners before named did faythefullie p'myse assume and undertake to and wth the said Briget one of your saide orato's to answere satisfye and paie unto her yerelie accordinge to the saide composic'on. And for theire securitie and indempnitie in that behalf did inforce the saide Thomas Myniffe unto whom or to whose use the saide sale was made to enter into good and sufficient sev'all bondes unto the saide co'missioners in dyvers and sondrie greate so'mes of money aswell for theire savinge harmles in that behalf as also for the paymente of the same xlii. yerelie to the saide Brigett out of the premisses, w^{ch} bondes to this daie are remayninge wth the same co'missioners. In considerac'on whereof and upon an assured hope and affiaunce conceived by her the same Brigitt of and for the trewe and unfayned p'formaunce of the saide agreem't made by the same co'missioners in manner and forme aforesaid shee the said Brigett and all her familie did remove oute of her then dwellinge house & the grounds thereto belonginge and from all the saide ironworkes and other co'modities gevinge place to the saide co'missioners and to the saide Thomas Myniffe and to suche as they had made over the same premisses

by sale, whoe had & tooke the quyet and peaceable possession of the same accordinglie and ever sythence have remayned therein wthout interrupc'on to the benefitt p^rfitt and gayne of the saide Thomas Myniffe of a thousand pounds at the leaste over and besydes as muche as would satsysfe all the due debts of the saide Anthonie Morley w^{ch} he justlie did then owe unto anie p^rson or p^rsons. Shortlie after w^{ch} sale made and thexecutinge of the said co'mission (that is to saie abouts xvj^{em} monethes then past, he the saide Anthonie Morley dyed leavinge nothinge at all for or towards the mayneten^ance supportac'on or stay of lyvinge of your saide poore oratrix or of her foure small children other then the hope of the true paymente of the said stipend of xl^{li}. p^r annu' duringe the saide eighte yeares. In respect whereof youre said oratrix Briget in her widowehood beinge urged wth extremetie of neede not havinge wherewth otherwyse to relieve or succo' herself did borrowe and take to lone of your saide orato' Edmond Michell beinge her naturall brother dyvers so'mes of moneye amountinge to vij^{xlii}. at the leaste and for the repayment thereof was contented and did agree that the moytie of the said an'uall payment of fortie pounds should be yearelie aunswered unto the saide Edmond Mychell untill the said seavenscore pounds shoulde be fullie aunswered, and the residewe thereof to be to herself. But so yt is Righte Honorable Lorde that the saide S^r Edward Stradlinge Knighte Thomas Maunsell Anthonie Maunsell Watkin Lowgher John Gwyn' and Griffith Willyams not regardinge theire p^rmyse and assumpc'on aforesaide nor yet respectinge thextreme myserie to the w^{ch} the saide Brigett and her poore orphans were by the meanes aforesaide broughte unto did by themselves or anie of them neyther by the said Thomas Myniffe nor by anie other satsysfe content or paye unto your saide orato's nor to anie of them the saide an'uall payment of xl^{li}. p^r annu' nor anie p^rte thereof, but the same dothe remayne behynd unpayde for this whole yeare nowe past ended in Maie last past. And albeyt they the saide co'missioners have bene joyntlie and sev'allie by all humble and gentle meanes of entreatie petic'on and desyre requested to make paymente of the saide arrereges past and to contynewe the paymente thereof in tyme to co'me accordinge to theire owne voluntarie agreement made uppon greate and good considerac'on them thereunto movinge, yet that to doe they thabove named co'missioners and ev'ye of them have utterlie refused and denyed to doe and do yet refuse and wthstand contrarie to theire saide p^rmyse and agreem't and contrarie to all righte equitie and good conscience and to your orato's extreme hynderaunce and utter undoinge.

In tender considerac'on whereof and forasmuche as the saide an'ual paym't of xli*li*. is thonlie staye of lyvinge w^{ch} yo' saide orato's John Watkins & Brigett his nowe wyef have for and towards the mayneten'ance and bringinge up of the orphanes of the saide Anthonie Morley. And for that the same fortie pounds is all w^{ch} cometh in lewe recompence and satisfaction of the saide overplus of the goodes and landes of the said Anthonie beinge little lesse worthe then a thowsand pounds at the leaste and for that your orato' as the case standeth are remediless by course of co'mon lawe for that they can not p'duce anie witnesses w^{ch} were p'sente at the tyme of the makinge of the said p'myse by the co'missioners to and wth the saide Brigett for the paym't of the saide fortie poundes p' annu'. And for that the said co'missioners are men of greate worshipp powre and reputac'on in their countrey suche as your orato's are not by syte in lawe lykelie to prevaile agaynste. And for y^t the trewth of all the premisses can not anie waie be revayled or broughte to lighte more aptlie or more fullie in ev'y respect then by oathes of the saide co'missioners to w^{ch} oathe by course of lawe your orato's can not compell them soe as your poore orato's are utterlie remediles in and conc'ninge the premisses unles by your L. good ayde and favo' in equitie they be in theise hard extremeties relieved uppon w^{ch} bill your said orato's then prayed p'ces of subpena agaynste the saide S'r Edward Stradlinge Thomas Maunsell Anthonie Maunsell Watkin Lowgher John Gwyn and Griffith Willyams accordinge to w^{ch} requeste p'ces beinge graunted by your Lordeshipp and served uppon the same then defend'ts they the saide defend'ts thereunto aunswered and after replicac'on and rejoinder put in the p'ties therein descended to yssue and shortlie after a co'mission was awarded out of this honorable courte for the examinac'on of witnesses betwene the same p'ties unto Thomas Lewes, Myles Button and Edmund Mathewe esquiers and to Gabriell Lewes and Edward Jones gent. directed returnable into this courte this instante terme of St. Michaell. By mediac'on of w^{ch} co'missioners a finall end and order was taken by and wth the consent aswell of yo' saide orato's then p'sent as also of one Elizabeth Myniffe wydowe late the wyef and administratrix of the goods and chattelles of Thomas Myniffe deceased whom the whole cause and matter in the saide former bill declared doth cheeffie and principallie concerne, as by a certificate made by the saide latter co'missioners of their doinges in that behalf certefyed unto yo' hono' and remayninge of record in this honorable courte more at lardge appeareth w^{ch} finall end and order had and taken by consent of all p'ties is by them moste humble desyred to be

decreed by your hono' and to be entred of recorde in this courte accordingle. Nowe so yt is righte honourable lorde that forasmuche as the saide Elizabeth Myniffe wyddowe beinge administratrix of the goodes and chattelles of the said Thomas Myniffe her late husband is neyther p'tie nor privie to the said former bill neyther yet was the said Thomas Myniffe her late husband made p'tie to the same albeyt the matter cheeflie concerned hym. And for that by occasion thereof the saide wydowe is not to be in anie wyse bounde by the saide order and decree so to be set downe in the premisses by your com' notwithstandinge her voluntarie consent & submission offered to p'forme the same as is aforesaide, Therefore and to that intent and p'pose that shee the saide Elizabeth Myniffe shalbe made a p'tie in courte to the saide cause and that shee her executo's and administrato's shalbe lyable and bound to p'forme your hono's decree and order to be set downe in the premiss' accordinge to the tenor of the saide certificate & accordinge to the trewe meaninge of the same. May yt therefore please your Lordshipp' to graunte her Mat's moste gracious wryt of sub pena unto her the saide Elizabeth Myniffe to be directed thereby comaundinge her p'sonnallie or by her attornes sufficientlie aucthorised to appeare before your honor forthewth to aunswere to the premisses and to stand to suche order and direction therein as to your Lordeshipp' in equitie shall seeme convenient. And your said orato's shall daylie praie to God for your long lyef in healthe wth muche increase of hono'.

WA. WYNTER.

Among the Records deposited in the Public Record Office, London, to wit, Bills & Answers in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, MM 6, No. 53, it is thus contained:—

The Aunswere of Elizabeth Mynefee wydowe defend' to the bill of compl' of Edmonde Mychell John Watkyns & Brygett his wyffe compl't' as well for themselves as for and on' the behalfe of Herbert Morley Will'm Morley Margaret Morley & Anne Morley the children of Anthonye Morley deceased begotten on the bodye of the saide Brygett late his wyffe.

The advaunt. . of execepc'on to the inc'tentye insufficyencye and untruthes of the saide bill of Compl' unto this defend' nowe and att all tymes hereaft' saved, she the saide defend' for aunswere hereunto sayeth that true it is that the saide Anthonye Morley in the saide bill of compl' named beyng'e become

a bankrupt a comysion^r thereuppon was awarded out of this honorable Courte accordinge to an estatute in that behalfe made conc^ynyge bankrupt^r, w^{ch} was directed unto the saide S^r Edwarde Stradlinge Knight Thomas Maunsell Anthonye Maunsell John Gwyn^r and Gryffyth Wyllyams Esquires and to certe'n others gevyng^e them or any three of them auctoryte to execute and do all and whatsoever was to be donn^d and . . . xecuted against the saide Anthonye Morley by force of the saide statute by reason whereof the saide S^r Edwarde Stradlynge Thomas Maunsell Anthonye Maunsell John Gwyn and Gryffyth Wyllyams (well knowinge and understandinge that the saide Anthonye Morley was a bankrupt and was to be used as a bankrupt accordinge to the saide estatute and that . . . thth out the sale of his goods chattalls lands and tenem^s his creditors to whome he was indebted could nott be paide no^t satisfied of sutch^e detts as were due unto them by the said . . . nthonye Morley. They the saide S^r Edwarde Stradlinge Thomas Maunsell, Anthony Maunsell John Gwyn and Gryffyth Williams dyd (for the satisfacc[']on and paym['] of the saide detts by and wth the consent and agreem[']t of the saide Anthony . . . orley and of his saide creditors) b[']gaine and sell unto the saide Thomas Menefee in the saide bill also named late husbnde of this defend^r and to his heires executors and assignes all['] the . . . ods, chattalls lands and tenem[']ts of the saide Anthony Morley w^{ch} by the saide S^r Edwarde Stradlinge Thomas Maunsell Anthony Maunsell John Gwyn and Gryffyth Williams . . . ere valued att nyne hundred foure score and nyne pounds foure shillings and eight pence uppon the sale whereof the saide Thomas Mynefee became bounden unto the saide S^r . . . dward Stradlinge Thomas Maunsell Anthony Maunsell John Gwyn and Gryffyth Williams by his writinge obligatorye in a greate som[']e of monye for the paiment unto the saide . . . nthony Morley to the saide Brigett his then wyff and to the saide foure children the some of fortye pounds yerely for the t[']me and space of eight yeres beinge the overplus, and . . . hat w^{ch} remained over and above so much as was sufficient to paie the said creditors the first paim['] of w^{ch} saide yerely paym['] of fortye pounds shoulde begyn['] att the Feast of the Purificac[']on of the blessed Vyrgen Marye in the xxixth yere of her majesties raigne and was appoynted towards the mayntinance of the saide Anthony Morley his saide wyff and children. And the saide Thomas Mynefee dyd farder take order wth the saide creditors for the satisfacc[']on of sutch^e detts as was due unto them by the saide Anthony Morley after w^{ch} the saide Thomas Mynefee (in his life time) paied unto the saide Anthonye Morley (in his liffe time) the some of fortie

three pounds threttene shillings and foure pence of lawfull monye of England of the saide yerely paym' of fortie pounds so appoynted to be paied as is aforesaide. And afterwards the saide Anthony Morley dyed and the saide Thomas Mynefee also dyed intestate after whose decease the administrac'on of all the goods and chattalls of the saide Thomas Mynefee was com'itted unto this defend'. And for that the saide yerely paym' of fortie pounds was appointed and limited to be paied unto the saide Anthony Morley and to his saide wyff and children towards there maintyn'nce and that after the decease of the saide Anthonye Morley nether the saide Thomas Mynefee nor this defend' did or could understand or knowe in what sorte the saide yerely paym' shuld be made unto the saide Brigett and her saide children howe mitche to the saide Brigett or howe mytch to the saide children, and for that also the saide children then were and yet are infants wthin age and not able to geve anye discharge for the receypt of anye monye, the saide Thomas Mynefee (after the decease of the saide Anthony Morley) dyd forbear to paye any monye of the saide yerely paym'. And for that cause this defend' hath don' the lyke ever sythence the decease of her saide husband Thomas Mynefee, by reason whereof there rested to paye of the saide yerely paym' of fortie poundes att the time of the decease of the saide Anthony Morley the som'e of twoo hundred threescore threttene pounds sixe shillings and eight pence for wante of paim' whereof the saide comp'ts exhibited a bill of compl' into this Honorable Courte againste the saide S'r Edward Stradlinge Thomas Maunsell Anthony Maunsell John Gwyn and Gryffyth Williams whereunto they made aunswere and thereuppon they disended to issue and a com'yssion was awarded out of this Honorabell' Court for examinac'on of witenesses betwene the saide p'tyes dyrected unto Thomas Lewes Miles Button and Edmond Mathewes esquires and to Gabriell' Lewes and Edward Jones gentlemen whereuppon by mediac'on of some of the saide com'ission's a finall end and order was taken by and wth the consent aswell' of the saide compts then p'sent as also of this defend' to this effecte folowinge that is to saie that this defend' her executors or administrators shall paie to the saide John Watkynes and Brygett his wyff twoo of the saide compl's and to the saide children the some of twoo hundred foure score and eightene pounds in man' and forme folowinge, videlit' foure score pounds att the feast of the Purificac'on of the blessed virgen Marye next com'inge fiftie eight pounds on the feaste daye of Phelipp and Iacobbe thapostles then' next folowinge and fortie pound yerely on everye first

daye of Maye for the space and t'me of foure yerres then
 next folowinge the saide paim' to be made att or uppen'
 the greates stone at Cardyffe in the countie of Glamorgan' in
 the high streete there betwene the howers of twelve and foure
 of the clocke in the after none of the saide dayes and feasts in
 full satisfacc'on and paym' of the saide former yerely paym' of
 fortie pounds limited and appointed to be paide unto the saide
 Anthony Morley his wyffe and children as is aforesaide w^{ch} end
 and order in forme aforesaide made and taken by the saide
 com'yssion's is by them c'tified into this honorabell' courte to
 thentent to have the same decreed and to be certenlye sett
 downe by this Honorable Court howe mutche of the said some
 of twoo hundred foure score and eightene pounds shalbe paied
 to the saide John Watkines and his wyff and howe mytche to
 the saide chyldren and to thentent also that this defend' myght
 be sufficyently acquitted and discharged of sutch paim's and
 might quietly enjoye sutch lands goods and chattalls (nowe in
 her occupac'on) as were the saide Anthonye Morleyes duringe
 her estate and interest therein as by the same c'tificat more att
 large it doth and maye appere. And forasmytche as this
 defend' is very willinge and desirous to be noe farder troubled
 touchinge the p'misses and to observe and kepe the saide order
 and ende as farr forthe as her abyltye will stretch she this de-
 fend' is contented and pleased to paye unto the saide John
 Watkyns and Brygett and to the saide chyldren the saide some
 of twoo hundred foure score and eightene pounds in satisfacc'on
 of the saide former yerely paym' of fortie pounds so as she
 maye be sufficyently discharged against the saide children butt
 for that her abyltye is weake she doth humbly besече this
 honorable court that it will please the same to order for her
 longer dayes of paym' then by the saide comissioners is sett
 downe and she this defend' doth also most humblye desire this
 honorable court that it maye be decreed and ordered by the
 same howe mutche of the saide sum'e of twoo hundred foure-
 score and eightene pounds shalbe paied unto the saide John
 Watkyns and his saide wyff and howe mitche unto the saide
 children and that she uppon those paym'ts to be made accord-
 inge to the order of this court maye receyve a sufficyent dis-
 charge in that behalfe or be sufficyently acquitted thereof
 against the saide chyldren and this defend' doth moreover
 humblye praye this honorable court that it maye also be or-
 dered and decreed by the same that she this defend' and her
 assignes maye quietlye have hold and enjoye all sutch lands
 goods and chattalls (w^{ch} sometime were of the saide Anthony
 Morley) as nowe are in her tenure manurance or occupac'on

duringe sutch estate t^me and int^rest as she nowe hath therein w^hout lett or int^rupc^on of the saide comp^ts and ether of them and of all other p^oson and p^osons clayminge by from or under them or anye of them to w^h decree (in forme aforesaide to be made) touchinge and contⁿinge the p^omisses) this defend^r doth most humblye submitt her selfe det^munge (w^h all rev^ence) to obey the same w^hout that that any other thinge or things matt^r or matt^s in the saide bill of compl^t conteyned materiall or effectuell to be aunswere unto and nott in this aunswere sufficiently trav^sed and denyed or confessed and avoyded are true.

PYNE.

Among the records deposited in the Public Record Office, London, to wit, bills and answers in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, bundle M.M. 8, No. 36, it is thus contained :

Evelyn 16, Oct. 1590.

To the Right Honorable S^r Christofer Hatton of the noble order of the garter Knight Lord Chauncelor of Englande,

In most humble wise complayninge shewe unto yo^r good Lordshipp yo^r daylye orators Rob^te Marten of Aberdare in the countye of Glamorgan gentleman and Elizabeth his wiff administratrixe of the goods and chattalls of Thomas Menyfee gentleman deceased, That where one Cunstance Relfe late the wiff of one Will^m Relfe gentleman deceased and nowe the wiff of one James Hobson gent. was in her widowedd lawfully possessed for div^s yeres yett endureinge (as aministratrixe of the goods and chattalls of the saide Will^m Relfe) of and in the third p^te p^tye and porc^on of c^ten iron^r forgs furnaces and iron^r works scituate and beinge in Lanvuno in the saide countye of Glamorgan^r late in the tenure occupac^on or possession of one Anthonye Morley gent. Richerd Waters & John Watkyns, and of all the howses lands tenem^ts places to laye cole myne scynder and iron^r in water courses, water bayes, streames, weares, dam^s, fludgats, slucs, banks, bayes and other easem^ts and co^modities to the saide iron^r forgs furnaces and iron^r works belonginge. And so beinge thereof possessed by her dede indented made in the tyme of her widowedd bearinge date the tenth daie of Februarye in the eight and twentieth yere of the raigne of oure soveraigne ladie the quenes majesty that nowe is (for and in considerac^on of the so^me of sixe hundred pounds of lawfull^r money of England unto her paid and to be paid by the saide Thomas Menyfee, his executo^s administrato^s and

assignes whereof the so'me of fyve hundred and fyfte pounds p'cell of the saide so'me of sixe hundred pounds is alredeye paied and fyfte pounds resydewe of the saide so'me of sixe hundred pounds is to be paied att a daye yett to come) did graunt b'gain, sell assigne and sett over unto the saide Thomas Menyfee all the estate right title interest possission and t'me of yeres w^{ch} she the saide Cunstance Relfe as administratrixe of the goods and chattalls of the saide Will'm Rolfe o' otherwise then hadd o' of right ought to have of and in all or any the saide iron' forgs furnaces or iron' works and of and in all other the p'misses wth ther app'ten'ces together wth all suche tooles implem'ts and necessaryes and all suche p'te porc'on and interest of tooles implem'ts and necessaryes as she the saide Cunstance then hadd or ought to have in the saide countye of Glamorgan app'teyninge unto the saide forges furnaces o' iron works and all suche woods and underwoods myne goods leases chattalls lib'tyes to cutt coole dygge and carye and all other p'vilegs and aucthorytyes as the saide Cunstance and one Richard Cheynye of Crawley in the countye of Sussex esquire and Gregory Relfe o' any of them then hadd o' of right ought to have wthin the saide countye of Glamorgan and all her estate right interest and terme of yeres of and in the leases o' farme of Penboughe in the p'isse of Lantryssyan in the saide countye of Glamorgan and of the woods growinge and renuinge in and upon the same. To have and to hold all and sing'ler the p'misses wth there app'tenanc' unto the saide Thomas Menyfee his executors administrato' and assignes from the daie of the date of the saide dede indented for and duringe all suche int'est t'me and tyme as the saide Cunstance then hadd o' of right ought to have of o' in the same, att w^{ch} tyme it was agreeede betwene the saide Thomas Menyfee and Cunstance Relfe that the said Thomas Menyfee his executo's administrators... assignes should (wthin shorte tyme after) have (by the deliv'ye of the saide Cunstance divers evidenc' ded' writing' leases escript' ch'res and mynym'ts cons'ninge and touchinge the p'misses so bargained and solde w^{ch} she then hadd in her custodye and possession. Nowe so it is if it may please yo' good Lordshipp that when the saide Thomas Menyfee hadd payed p'cell of the saide so'me of sixe hundred pounds (and that the saide Cunstance stode assured for the paym't of the resydewe thereof she the saide Cunstance made litell reconinge o' accompte of the deliv'ye of the saide evidenc' ded' writing' leases escript' charters and mynym'ts no' of her p'mise or agreem't in that behalfe made and did nott onely all the liff tyme of the saide Thomas Menyfee) denye and refuse to make deliv'ye of them unto him

althoughe he was thereunto often required and desired, butt also hath don' the like unto the saide Elizabeth one of your Lordshipp' saide orators whilst she was widowe, and to youre saide orators sythence there ent'maryage by reason whereof aswell the saide Thomas Menyfee in his liff tyme as your Lordshipp' saide orators sythence his decease have nott nor could nor yett can have and enjoye a greate p'te of the p'misses b'gayned, sold and graunted unto the saide Thomas Menyfee by the saide Cunstance in maner and forme aforesaide, by wth meanes the saide Thomas Menyfee in his liff tyme was (and your saide orators sythence his decease have ben') muche hurted hendered and damaged, and yett are like to receyve more losse, hurte and da'mage to there greate impov'isshem't unles your good Lordshipp moved wth pitye do ayde and assiste yo' saide orators in this behalfe. In tender consyd'ac'on whereof and for asmuche as the saide Thomas Menyfee in his liff tyme could nott and that your Lordshipp saide orators sythence his decease also have nott no' yett can have and enjoye a greate p'te of the p'misses b'gayned, sold and graunted by the saide Cunstance nor hadd not any remedye to come by the same for want of the saide evidenc', ded' writing' leases escript' ch'res and minym'ts by reason whereof they have susteyned and borne greate losse and hinderance and have ben' muche p'judiced thereby and yett are like to have more and can nott thereof be releived nor recompenced att the hands of the saide Cunstance by any course to be taken att o' by the co'mon lawes of this realme nor can come by or geate the saide writing' escript' leases ded' evidenc' ch'res or mynym'ts otherwise then by the ayde and helpe of yo' good Lordshipp in this behalfe w^{ch} your saide orators hope that your Lordshipp of your accustomed clemencye and goodnes will aforde and yeld them. May it therefore please your good Lordshipp the p'misses considered to graunt unto your saide orators the quenes majesties write of subpena to be directed unto the saide James Hobson and Cunstance his wife comaundinge them and ether of them by vertue of the same p'sonallye to appere before your good Lordshipp in the quenes majesties honorable courte of Chauncery att a certen daie and under a c'ten paine by your good Lordshipp to be limited then and there to aunswere the p'misses and farther to abide suche order and direcc'on therein as by your good Lordshipp shalbe thought most meete and convenient and your Lordshipp' saide orato's shall dailye praie unto God for the prosperous estate and longe liff of your good Lordshipp longe to continue and endure.

PYNE.

Uterq juravit coram me Tho Legge 26^o Novemb' 1590.

The answeare of James Hobson gent and Constance his wyffe Defend'unts to the bill of Complaynt of Robert Marten and Elizabeth his wiffe Compleyn'tes.
Huberd.

The sayd defend'unes (savage unto them and eyther of them att all' times hereafter all' advantage of excepc'on to the incertenty and insufficiency of the said bill of complaynt, and of all and ev'ry matter and thinge therin conteyned they thes defend'unts for so muche of the said bill as concerneth them joyntly say and eyther of them for so muche as concerneth them sev'ally sayth in manner and forme followinge. And first the sayd Constance sayth and the said James Hobson thinketh that trewe yt is that shee the said Constance did by the indenture menc'oed in the said bill' for the considerac'on therin conteyned graunt bargayne sell assigne and sett over unto Thomas Meneffee all the estate right title interest possession and terme of yeeres which shee the said Constance had in all or any the said yron fordg's furnaces or yron works menc'oed in the said bill and the said Constance denyeth that att the time of the makinge of the said indenture there was any agrement made betweene the said Thomas Meneffee and her the said Constance. That the said Thomas Meneffee his executors adm'strators and assignes should within shorte time after have by the deliv'ry of her the said Constance div'se evidences deeds, wrytings leases escriptes ch'res and munymnts concerninge and touchinge the p'misses so bargayned and solde wth shee the said Constance then had in her custodie and possession as is moste untruly alleadged in the said bill. And shee the said Constance denyeth. That she the said Constance had att the time of the makinge of the said indenture or att any time since any wrytinges escripts leasses ch'res evidences deeds or munymnts concerninge or towchinge the p'misses menc'oed in the said indenture, without that, that this defend'unts or eyther of them, or any others by the p'curement of them or eyther of them do detayne any of the said wrytings or evidences as in the said bill is alleadged. And withoute that, that any other matter or thinge in the said bill of complaynt conteyned materyall or effectuell for thes defend'unts or eyther of them to answeare unto, and not before in this answeare sufficiently confessed and avoyded trav'rsed or denied is to the knowledge of thes defend'unts or eyther of them true. All wth matters and things thes defend'unes and eyther of them

are readie to averre and p've as this honorable courte shall award and pray to be dysmissed oute of the same with their reasonable costes and expences in that behalf wrongfully sustayned.

E. PELHAM.

Evelyn. The Replicac'on of Rob'te Marten and Elizabeth the his wiff Compl'ts to the Aunswere of James Hobson gentleman and Constance his wyff defend'ts.

The saide complaynants for replicac'on saie, and ether of them saiethe, as they in there saide bill' of complainte have alredie saide, that at the tyme of the makinge of the saide indenture, there was an agrement made betwene the saide Thomas Meneffee and her the saide Constance, that the saide Thomas Meneffee his executors administrators and assygnes should wthin shorte tyme after have, by the deliv'rye of her the saide Constance dyvers evidences deeds, writings, leases, escripts charters and mynim'ts conc'rninge and touchinge the p'misses, so bargayned and solde, wth she the saide Constance then hadd in her custodie and possession as by the saide bill of complainte is verye trulye alleged. And that she the saide Constance hadd or coulde have come by att the tyme of the makinge of the saide indenture dyvers writings escripts, leases charters, evidences deeds or munymnts conc'rninge or touchinge the p'misses mencioned in the saide indenture, and that they the saide defend'ts or one of them or some others by the p'curemente of them or either of them doo deteyne the saide writings and evidences as in and by the saide-bill' of complainte is also trulye declared and alleged, and the saide complain-aunts farther saye in all' and everye thinge and things as they in there saide bill of complainte have saide and doo averr, mainteyne and will prove all and everye the contents of the saide bill of complainte to be true, in suche sorte maner and forme as by the same they are sett forthe declared and alleged. Without that that anye other thinge or things matter or matters in the saide aunswere conteyned materyall or effectuell to be replied unto and nott in this replicac'on suffycyently traversed and denyed or confessed and avoided are true in suche sorte maner and forme as in and by the saide aunswere they are sett forthe declared and alleged. All wth matters the saide complayn'unts are redye to aver and proue as this honorable courte shall awarde and praye as in there saide bill' of complaynte they have alredie praied.

PYNE.

BEEHIVE HUT, BOSPHRENNIS,
IN THE PARISH OF ZENNOR, CORNWALL.

DURING the Friday's excursion of the Truro Meeting last year, some of the most active members, under the guidance of Mr. Blight, separated from the main body for the purpose of examining this remarkable structure. To the Scotch and Irish members present such a relic of native architecture was not so great a novelty as to those from Wales; for although the principality contains numerous traces of such dwellings, yet these are almost universally confined to outer foundation stones or depressions in the ground. No instance of portions of standing walls of a house, much less any portion of the roof, are at present known to exist. Even Cornwall itself is said to possess no similar example; so that it is somewhat remarkable that this one appears not to have attracted any attention until the meeting of the Association. In anticipation of this meeting, the Royal Institution of Cornwall had prepared a list of antiquities in the hundreds of Kirrier and Penwith, with the assistance of Mr. Blight, whose attention was first drawn to this remarkable monument by Mr. Cornish, the gentleman who conducted, with no less personal activity than success, the excursions of Thursday and Friday. The same gentleman states that the place is spelt in some deeds in his possession Bos-porthennis, the meaning of which terms we must leave to our Cornish or Welsh scholars to explain. The two latter words apparently stand for "*gate*" and "*island*," though what traces of an island may still remain those best acquainted with the locality can best inform us. Bos is a common prefix in Cornwall. There are other remains of the same kind and rude enclosures to be traced in the vicinity, while about 500 yards to the north is the ruined cromlech of the same name; but whether this last mentioned monument may be considered as coeval with the hut is a questionable point.

Borlase, in whose time these monuments may have been more perfect, takes no notice of them, and was probably not even aware of their existence, as it is improbable that so zealous an antiquary would have passed them over in silence. As he would have called the cromlech a Druidic altar, he would probably have identified the hut as the residence of the officiating Druid.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson has described, in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, some huts at Brownwilly, in Cornwall; but these appear to be of much less interest than the one under consideration. The remains at Chysauster, visited on the same day, are very remarkable, and retain traces of the same kind of overlapping masonry as we shall find at Bosphrennis. The actual remains, however, of walls are very scanty.

As no similar remains, therefore, in the same perfect state are known at present to exist in Cornwall, it has been thought desirable to have as many of the details as possible of this beehive house committed to the pages of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, so that when time and man have effected its entire destruction, some trustworthy record of its existence may still remain. Accurate measurements and drawings have been therefore taken by Mr. Blight, the Corresponding Secretary of the Association.

In Figure No. 1 we have the ground-plan, showing two chambers, one circular, the other rectangular, with a communication between the two at B. The principal entrance is at A, and is nearly perfect, measuring in height five feet six inches, and in width two feet. The lintel is composed of three large slabs of granite (see fig. 1). A smaller entrance exists, marked C, being only two feet seven inches high, and two feet three wide. One lintel stone remains. Whether there were more is uncertain; but Mr. Blight thinks that originally there were two or three.

Some difficulty is presented by this second doorway, of such inconvenient proportions. The small dimensions of the circular chamber preclude the supposition

that the sheep or goats of the owner were secured within it at night, and that this low opening was intended for their exclusive use. Those members who

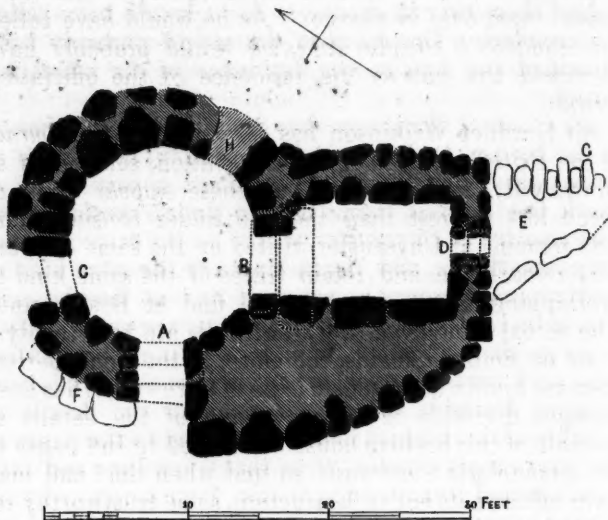


Fig. 1.

visited the stone works of Carn Goch, in Caermarthen-shire in 1855 will remember that in the thickness of the walls there were discovered low galleries, formed by horizontal and vertical slabs, which were thought to have been used for the passage of sheep or goats in leaving or returning within the works. If they were intended for concealed sallyports for the use of the defendants, they could only have been passed on the hands and knees.

In the present case, the small door, if not intended for the use of the sheep and goats, may have served as a means of egress, more easily defended than the larger door at A, which in case of danger may have been blocked up with stones, as already observed.

On reference to the plan, the great thickness of the outer wall, on the south-west side, will appear. At *f* and *e* are low platforms of about eighteen inches in height. What object they are intended to fulfil is by no means apparent, unless we may be allowed to explain the difficulty by supposing that these platforms are but the remains of an outer casing, subsequently added, as it were, to the walls of the building, for strength and security. At *g* are three steps in the hedge, of which no account can be given, as the hedge is evidently of a much later date than the hut. Further investigation may perhaps throw some light upon these steps and platforms.

The inner chamber, measuring nine feet by seven, has its floor somewhat elevated above the level of the circular one. This difference may be the result of the accumulation of *débris*. It would be, however, an easy task to ascertain by digging whether this is the case, or whether the difference of levels is intentional. The doorway at *a* is smaller than the principal one at *b*, being only four feet high, although in breadth it exceeds the other by a foot.

Figure 4 gives an accurate representation of the ex-



Fig. 4.—Exterior. Principal entrance to circular chamber.

terior of the main entrance at A. It measures five feet six inches in height, and two feet seven inches in width. The lintel is composed of three granite slabs, lying in the same plane. The exterior masonry on each side of the entrance is a fair example of this primitive style.

In the doorway itself no traces of grooves, or any other arrangement for a wooden door, can be made out; so that the entrance was probably secured by piling up stones, however clumsy and inconvenient such an arrangement may appear. In the March number of the *Revue Archéologique* of the present year is a very interesting account of the researches made at Murviel, in the department of Herault. During the excavations were discovered the original Gaulish walled defences of the town, consisting of the same rude Cyclopean masonry, and in them, near one of the main entrances, a very low and small passage, apparently a sallyport. From the entire absence of all traces which might enable the distinguished antiquaries, who superintended the excavations, to form any opinion as to the manner of closing it, they came to the conclusion that it had been blocked up with stones level with the exterior wall, which might be easily removed in case of any emergency. The same means may have been employed in the entrance of the Bosphrennis hut.

The interior views of the two entrances are well exhibited in figure 5. The lintel of the inner entrance is composed of one large slab, over which projects a second, itself surmounted in the same overlapping manner by a third. These two upper stones are probably the last remains of a stepped roof (see fig. 3), of the usual character, as exhibited on a much larger scale in the famous chamber of New Grange, near Drogheda, and the no less remarkable one, explored in 1861 by Mr. James Farrer, M.P., at Maes Howe in Orkney (see the admirably illustrated account of this discovery by the same gentleman).

In this latter case, however, the overlapping stones

forming the roof rise from the side, and not from the end walls as at Bosphrennis. The chamber at Maes Howe

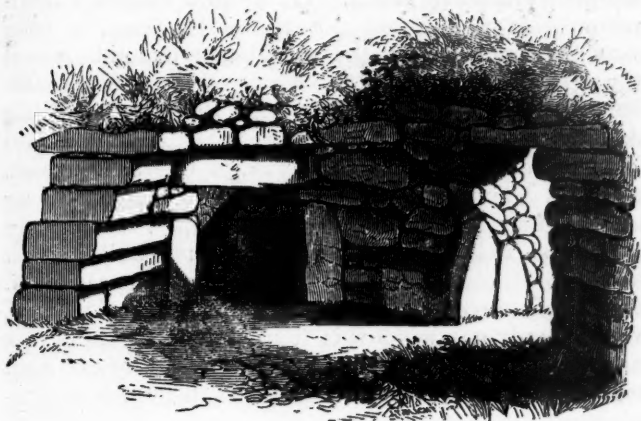


Fig. 5.

is almost a perfect square, whereas the slightly shorter length of the end walls of the Cornish house may have induced the builder to prefer using them, as the overlapping stones would be shorter and easier to fix in their places. The end wall opposite the entrance, and containing the small window, presents us with masonry of a

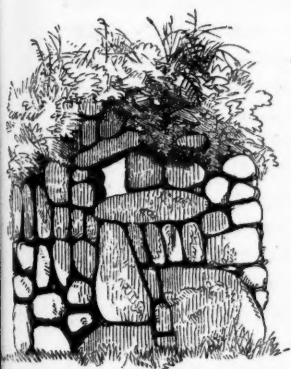


Fig. 6.—Interior of end wall of oblong chamber.

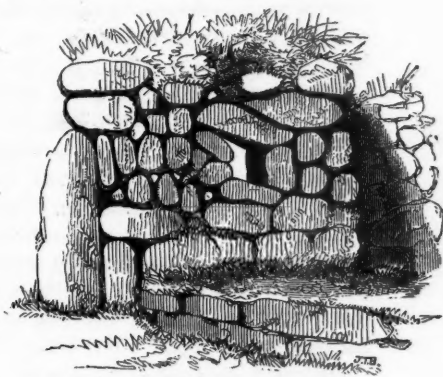
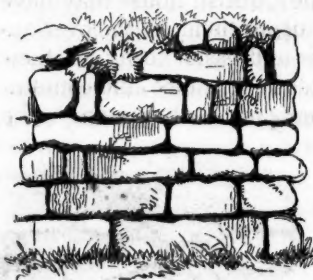


Fig. 7.—Exterior of ditto.

somewhat inferior kind to the rest of the structure, and at first sight was conjectured to be of much later, if not altogether modern, work. On a more careful examination this was found not to be the case, a view strongly confirmed by the subsequent examination of the exterior wall. That the whole of the inner chamber and the window are of the same date there is little doubt. The window is unique as regards England and Wales; for although Tref caerau, in Caernarvonshire, may still retain a doorway in the outer defences, yet no other instance of a window is known. Even in the more numerous and perfect specimens of such buildings in the west of Ireland [for an excellent account of which, see Mr. Dunoyer's article in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xv] only one window is figured in plate iv of the article referred to, and it appears to have been much more carefully and neatly executed than the one at Bosphrennis.

Fig. 8 represents a portion of the north-east wall of inner chamber. On comparing the masonry with that of the wall in which the window occurs (see figs. 6 and 7), this portion appears executed with much more care and regularity. The height of the end wall is about eight feet, measured from the inside; while that of the walls of the circular chamber vary from five to six feet.



————— 16 FEET

Fig. 8. Interior; north-east wall of oblong chamber.

At H in the ground-plan the wall has been broken through, thus affording a good section, showing the mode of construction (see fig. 2). From this the height and construction of the ceiling of the circular chamber may easily be ascertained. The only portion of the original roof remaining is that over the division between the two

chambers. It is now covered with soil of some depth, but which might be easily removed and the

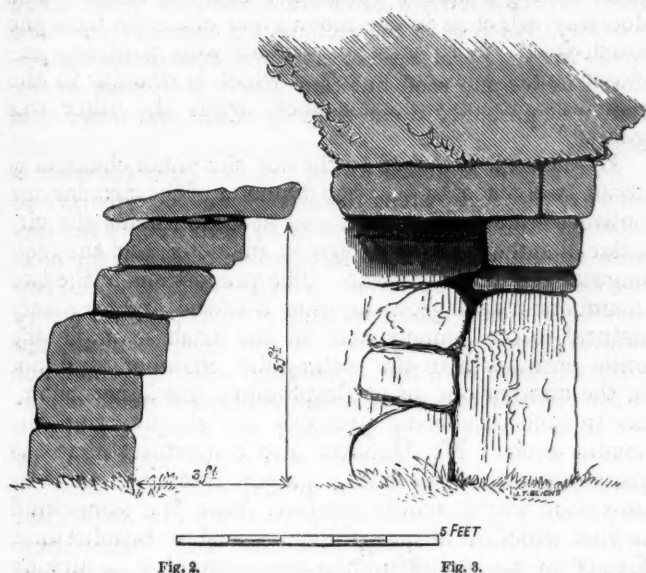


Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

actual construction ascertained. As, however, the soil at present protects the masonry beneath from the weather and other mischief, we should strongly recommend its being carefully replaced if, at any future time an examination is made.

In most of the cloghauns referred to in Mr. Dunoyer's notice, second chambers exist, and in some instances three or more. Many of these second apartments are however mere divisions of the main or circular chamber. Sometimes, however, they are found externally, but still preserve a circular or semicircular form. One instance, indeed, occurs, and only one, where we have a similar arrangement to that of Bosphrennis. Mr. Dunoyer says (see vol. xv, p. 18), "This building occurs in the townland of Ballinloghig, on the north bank of the Feohanagh river. It consists of two chambers,

which lie north-east and south-west of each other, the former being circular, and the latter rectangular in plan, having a narrow connection between them. The doorway, which is in the rectangular chamber, faces the north-west. Both these apartments were doubtless enclosed under one roof, but that which is circular in the plan was probably dome-shaped, while the other was gabled."

By the scale attached to the cut, this inner chamber is about twelve feet by ten; the diameter of the circular one between nine and ten: whereas at Bosphrennis the circular chamber is thirteen feet in diameter, and the rectangular one nine by seven. The proportions of the two chambers in each group are then reversed, and for a very natural reason, namely, that in the Irish example the outer entrance is in the rectangular chamber, and not in the circular one, as at Bosphrennis, the inner chamber in each case being probably the sleeping and the smaller room. Mr. Dunoyer also conjectures that the rectangular chamber had a gabled roof; but there is no reason why it should not have been the same kind as that which in all probability existed at Bosphrennis, formed by the stones lapping over each other, as already mentioned.

On the Denbighshire mountains, south of Cerrig-y-drudion, and elsewhere in North Wales, are numerous vestiges of an early people, mostly consisting of ruined circles. In one or two instances there are traces of rectangular chambers having been attached. The greater portion, however, of these relics have undergone such mutilation and destruction that, until they have been more accurately surveyed and examined than they have been, not much light can be thrown on the arrangement of primitive dwellings in these wild and now uninhabited districts.

Much, however, as we regret the neglect and bad treatment the earliest relics of our domestic architecture in Wales have so universally received; yet, as Cornwall can claim the possession of a specimen of this architecture

as perfect as the Bosphrennis hut, we hope that effective measures will be taken for securing it against accident and violence as far as possible. If the hedge with which it is in now in contact were removed, and a good stone wall built around it to secure it from cattle, precautions also being taken against its more formidable enemies—the builders of stone walls,—the structure will probably remain many years, and keep its place as one of the principal lions of a district, that contains so many varied and important relics of an antiquity, the real age of which is still an undecided question.

E. L. B.

NOTES ON THE HOUSE OF NANNAU.

BY ROBERT VAUGHAN OF HENGWRT, 1649.

THE subjoined notes, extracted from the pedigree of "Colonel Jones the Regicide," contain some particulars which I have not met with elsewhere,—*e.g.*, that Nannau, burnt by Glyndwr, "was the stateliest structure in all North Wales," and "built by Cadwygan ap Bleddyn, Prince of Powys, about three hundred years before"; that Howel Sele was thrust *alive* into the hollow oak, etc.

The pedigree is on vellum, emblazoned with one hundred and eighty-six coats of arms, in colours and gold and silver. The upper part was cut off and destroyed by a servant many years ago. What remains, comprising the descents and alliances from Cadwgan ap Bleddyn to Colonel Jones, is more than thirty feet long. At the end it is thus described:

"This is the Pedigree and Atchieuement of the honourable & truly noble Colonell John Jones Esquire, a Member of Parliament, & one of the honourable counsell of the state of England, declaring his descent, together with the descent of his vertuous consort, as well from the Royall bloud of the Normans & Plantagenets, Kings of England, as from all the Royall races and nobilitie of Wales, taken and selected out of the Exchequer

rolles, and other records remayning at Caernarvon, and also out of antient Charters, Euidencies and works of the best approued Antiquaries, and Bards of Wales, vidlt. Caradoc of LLangaruon, Cwddelw Brydydd Mawr: Iollo Goch: Lewis Glyn Cothi, Guttyn Owen; Gwilim Tew: Ieuā: Brechua, Lewis Morganwc: Gr' Hiraethog: Will: LLyn: Rys Cain: & Ieuā LLwyd Jeffrey gent. by the industrie and trauail of Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt in the County of Merionith Esquire and finished the 30th day of Januarie Anno Dom'i 1649."

Colonel Jones's first wife was an Edwards of Stansty, near Wrexham, his second, Catherine, eldest sister of Oliver Cromwell. He was one of the peers of Oliver's parliament. I have a deed of grant under the Great Seal (of which a perfect impression, in green wax, is appended), by Richard Cromwell, Lord Protector, to "John, Lord Jones," of very extensive domains in Ireland, which were, I believe, seized by the Crown at the Restoration. Colonel Jones was taken at Kilhendre, in Shropshire, and executed for high treason in 1660. There is a portrait of him at Llanerchrugog, and a very fine contemporary one of the Protector Oliver, and several Cromwell relics, preserved in the family since the Civil War.

T. J.

Llanerchrugog Hall, Wrexham.
Feb. 1863.

"C....Madoc ap Cadwogan had 3 sonnes, and he diuided his Inheritance among them, vdl't. Mevrig had for his part, the Lordship of Nanney and divers other lands in the hundred of Merioneth.....Rhiwallon the 2 sonne had the lordship of and his fathers lands in Powys. Madoc hyddyam the 3 sonne had Cittalgarth, Cymysgadwy, Garn and Penmaen in y^e hundred of Pennlyn.

"D....Meurig ap Madoc was Lord of Nanney, and had a son called Ynyr that was also Lord of Nanney, who had 3 sonnes Ynyr Vaughan Lord of Nanney, eldest. Meuric Hên 2 sonne and Enion called the Brawd dy o Nanney 3 sonne, who was Chaplain to K. Edward the .1st. and Bishop of St. Asaph.

"E....Ynyr Vaughan Lord of Nanney had 6 sonnes, amongst whom he diuided his Lands. Vdl't. Meuric Vaughan had the Pallace & the Lands from thence to the riuier at Mouthech &c. Howel had the Lands bordering on the riuier Iddon; Enion

had Camerch, Gr' Llewelin and Ynyr (commonly called Enivs) had alsoe their part.

"F....Howel ap Ynyr Vaughan had 3 sonnes and divided his lands amongst them, Llewelin the eldest had y Ddwy, Boethug, Maestom, Arddyn, & twelve tenements more; Meredith the 2 sonne had all the Lands from Maesyllech to the riuer Iddon, hafod Meredith, Crosgarnedd and many other tenements. Howel Goz, the 3 sonne had Maesyllech and the remainder of his fathers inheritance whose lands were escheated to the crown. I finde in the records at Caernaruon a° xi of King Edw'd the 3d that Howel ap Ynyr was elected Coroner of Ardudwy, Talbont and Estimanner, and continued in that office until the 17 yeare of the same king, and then leaving the office, one Griffith ap Iorwerth was chosen in his roome.

"G....Meredith ap Howel ap Ynyr had 2 sonnes, Howel who had Hauod Meredith and the lands from thence to the River Iddon yr hafod fraith &c. Meuric who had Corsgarnedd, Buarth y Re &c. And Howel ap Meredith had a son named Ieuan LLoyd ap Howel, of whom mention is made in the Extent of N. Wales thus, 'liberi tenentes de Nanney Griffith Derwas, Meuric Vaughan, Ieuan LLoyd ap Howel &c. which said Iuan LLoyd ap Howel had many sonnes. Howel ap Ieuan LLoyd had the Lands by the Riuer Iddon, Enion ap Ieuan LLoyd had yr Hand Vraith Cymheision &c. Daudi ap Ieuan LLoyd sould to Howel Bedo.

"H....Meuric Vychan aforesaid eldest sonne of Ynyr Vichan Lord of Nanney had 6 sonnes, as Gutty Owen recordeth. Howel the eldest he left noe essue male, Meuric LLoyd of Nanney, Griffith LLoyd, Ieuan, Llewelin, Ddr', and Ynyr LLoyd all these had their several shares of their fathers lands.

"I....Meuric LLoyd had also Howel Sele, Griffith Derwas, Rees (and as some say) Llewelin Goch, who married an heir at Dar Owen in the county of Montgomery where his posteritie remaineth at this day and Ynyr. Of the two first are descended the noble and antient families of the Nanneys and Derwas of whom in their places. Meurig LLoyd dyed few yeares before the death of Richd. II, leaving his inheritance between his s'd children.

"K. L....Howel Sele being very powerful in means, kindred, and alliance stood stiffly for King Henry 4th against Owen Glendwr (although he had been proclaimed Prince of Wales) and refused to do him any homage. Whereupon Owen being much incensed came upon him with a great power of men spoyled and burned his house which was the stateliest structure in all North Wales (built by Cadwygan ap Bleddyn Prince of

Powys about 300 years before) and led him prisoner towards Ardudwy: which when Griffri ap Gwyn of Ardudwy heard (who had married one of the daughters of Howel) he assembled of his friends & kindred to the number of 200 tall men and came to the Bridge neere Llanelltyd thinking by the ayde of the men of Talabont on the one side with his men and himselfe on the other side to have rescued his father in lawe: but after a hot skirmishe, Owen got the passage, and Griffri after the losse of 60 of his men (who were all of them cousins and cosin-germans one to another) with the rest fled. It is said that Owen Glendwr caused Howel Sele to be lette down into a hollow oak where he ended his life leaving behind him a young sonne 2 years old called Meuric Vaughan. One of his daughters was married to Griffri ap Jenkyn of Powys Land of whom the Vaughans of Llwydiarth and Caergai are descended. Another daughter was grandmother to John ap Meredith of Caernarvonshire & the third was married to Griff ap Llewellyn of Castell March &c.

"M....I finde in An^o 4 of King Henry 8th a Bill against William ap Jenkyn ap Ior' of Dolgelly gent. (a younger brother of the house of Ynys y maen Gwyn) preferred by Humfrey ap Howel ap Jenkyn of Ynys ymaengwyn, his brothers sonne, for that he (without regard had to the statute of Combartha) had desired of about an hundred and twenty of his friends and kindred in Talybont, a benevolence, who all (as in the said is mentioned) gave him a bullock or two apeece, and among whom I finde this David ap Enion ap Ieuan LLoyd to be one: this David sold all his lands in Nanney to Ieuan ap Deio a Enion and went to his wiues friends who was the daughter of David ap Ior' LLoyd of Ardudwy and lived there the rest of his days and a sonne that was called Hugh ap David ap Enion.

"N....Osburne Wyddel a younger sonne of the House of Desmond in Ireland came into Wales in the time of Llewellyn the Great Prince of Wales and was soe much in his favour that he obtayned great possessions of the said Prince as Corsygedol G..... and other lands in the marches of Wales. His posteritye were very eminent in all ages by obtayning great marches whereby they became men of great estates and means, and diuers great houses yet in North Wales doe lineally descend from the said Osburne, which flourish even to this day.

"O....This Hugh David ap Enion married the daughter & heir of Griffith ap Ieuan ap Howel Boole of Cwmnancol and had good means by her.

"P....Meuric Vaughan of Nanney sonne of Howel Sele (before spoken of) had 2 sonnes David the eldest, and Griffith

who died in his father's lifetime, leaving only a daughter to inherit his part of his father's lands, and she was married to Robert ap Rees ap Howel Vaughan gent. of Caernarvonshire, who much contested with David ap Meuric for the said lands. At last in the 2nd year of King Henry the 7th the controversie was referred on Robert's side upon his brother Howel ap Rees of Bronyvoel in Caernarvonshire, and Griffith ap Jenkyn ap Rees of Trawsvynth gent., and on David's side on Howel ap Jenkin Ynys y Maengwyn and John ap Rees ap Griffith ap Aron of Pennsarth,¹ and Howel ap Griffith ap Derwas was to be umpire, and they made an end between them which lasted till anno 33 of King Henry 8th at which time there fell a difference againe between Rees Wynne the said Robert's sonne, and old Griffith Nanney commonly called Gr. Wynne ap Howel ap David ap Meuric of Nanney the which variance was likewise referred to the arbitrament of Hugh ap David ap Enion of Cwmnancol gent. for Rys Wynne and Griffith ap William ap Rees ap Ieuan ap David of Dolgelley gent. for Griffith Nanney who awarded that in case Rys Wynn should not have the lands called Cwmfychan and 3s. 4d. rent out of another tenement called y Kaeglas in Llanvair parish, and Hendre Verwydd in Llanpedr, that then the said Rees was to have a tenement in Nanney called Buarth yre, to the said Rees and his heirs for ever, the which tenement from that tyme hitherto is held by the heirs of Gwaun Enion, the posterity of Rees Wynne, by force of the said awarde, a coppie whereof is yet reserved amongst the writings at Nanney.

"Gruffyth Derwas, Esqr., of the body of King Henry Sixth, became tutor and guardian to Meuric Vaughan, sonne to his brother Howel Sele, and was the chiefest man of command in our country all his tyme; he had two sonnes, Howel the eldest, and Gwillim 2 sonne whose mother was an heretrix of Kemes in the county of Montgomery, where his posteritie are very flourishing at this day: Gr. Derwas had many daughters whom he proffered to great houses, as Cwchwillan, Ynysy maengwyn, Plas du, Madryn, & Penllech &c.

"Howel ap Griffith Derwas lived in great credit all his tyme, he had a sonne called Griffith ap Howel, who had two sonnes, Tudor Vaughan and Elisse, he (having but one sonne that dyed without issue) sould all the land that came to his share.

"Tudur Vaughan was a valiant and stout gentleman, and of great command in his countrey, of whom Tudor Vaughan gent. that now liveth is lineally descended."

¹ Peniarth?

ON THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF THE SEVERN VALLEY.

BY EDWIN GUEST, LL.D., MASTER OF GONVIL AND CAIUS COLLEGE.

(Reprinted from the "Archæological Journal" by permission of the Author and the Officers of the Archæological Institute.)

PREVIOUSLY to the battle of Deorham, the whole basin of the Severn and a large portion of the Cotswold, that is of the high upland drained by the Thames, were in the possession of the Welshmen. Their great fortress to the eastward was Cirencester, and some of the later battles between them and their English neighbours had been fought on the line of country which lies between that town and Winchester. The marches separating the two races in this part of Britain, though they had been subjected to several changes, still remained on the whole much as they had been settled half a century before. But there is reason to believe that about the year 571 the kings of Wessex received an accession of strength, that enabled them to carry the war into the very heart of the Welsh territory. I do not stop to inquire whence came this increase of strength, but thereby they were enabled in the year last-mentioned to push their inroads as far north as Bedford, and six years afterwards to lead an army into the rich and beautiful valley, the conquest of which forms the subject of the present paper.

The nature of the country and the circumstances of the times enable us to point out with much probability the direction which the expeditionary force must have taken. It must have advanced along the Roman Road leading from Winchester to Cirencester, and then skirting the borders of Braden forest have reached the Fosse. Down this great highway they passed, ravaging or in the language of the times, *harrying* the country right and left. West of the Fosse, and on a chain of hills which commands magnificent views of the Severn-valley, lies the village of Deorham. Near it is an ancient earthwork, where as we may conjecture the men of the neighbourhood had retreated with their cattle and other valuables, and where our ancestors were preparing to attack them, when the Welshmen came to the rescue, and the battle of Deorham was the result. It is thus commemorated in the Chronicle.

A. 571. Now Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought with the Brits, and three kings they slew, Commagil and Condidan and Farinmagil in the place that is called Deorham, and they took three cities, Gleawan ceaster and Ciren ceaster and Bathan ceaster.

THE CONQUEST OF THE SEVERN VALLEY.

CORINIUM

Roman names in
Roman Capitals

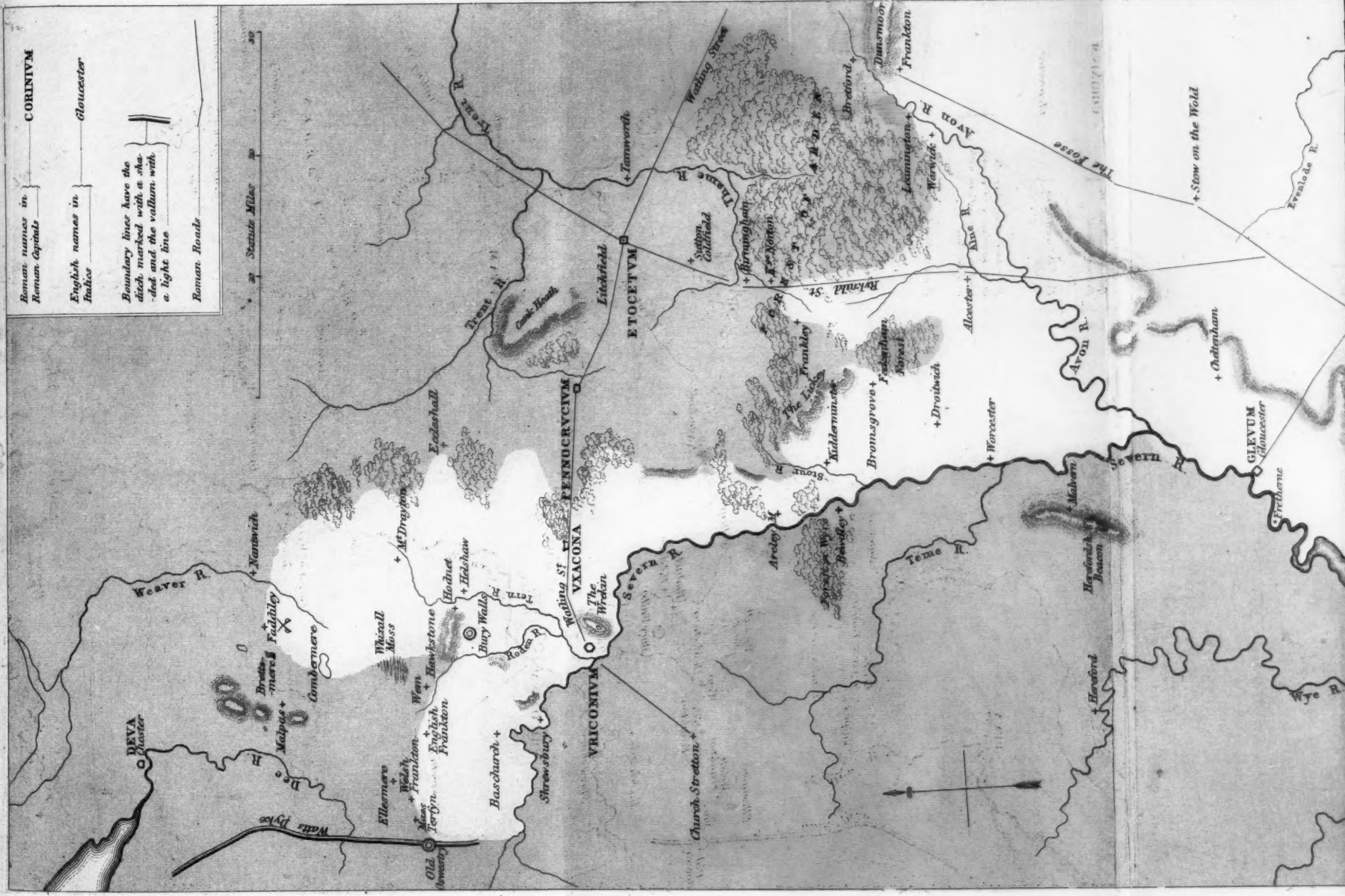
Gloucester

English names in
Italics

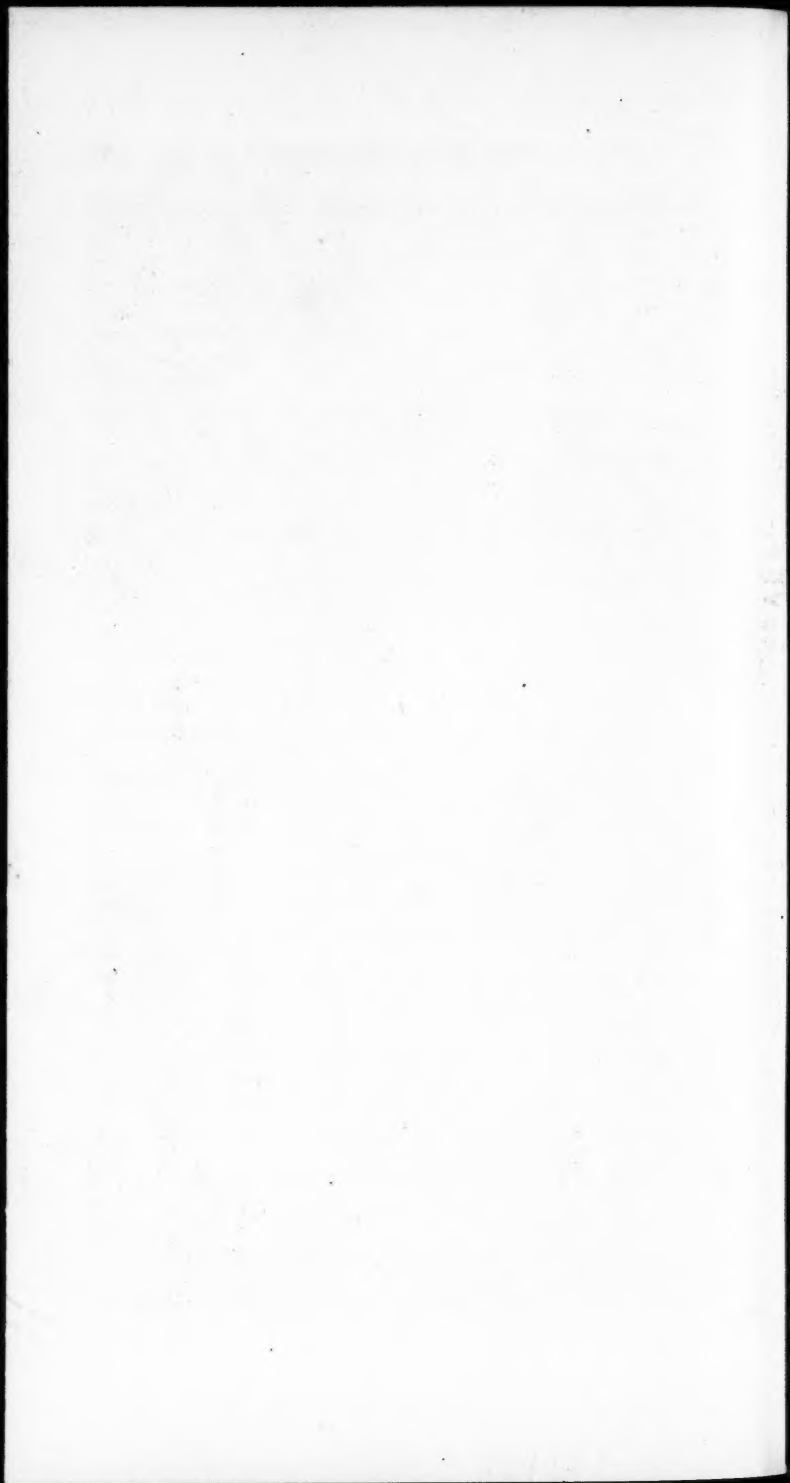
Boundary lines have the
ditch marked with a she-
-dial and the vallum with
a light line

Roman Roads

0 10 20 30 Statute Miles







Various conjectures have been hazarded with respect to the three kings, whose deaths are here recorded. Sharon Turner and Villemarqué consider Condidan to be the same person as the Kyndylan whose death is bewailed in an old Welsh *marwnad*, or elegy, which we shall shortly have occasion to notice more particularly. But it appears clearly enough from the elegy that Kyndylan was slain near Shrewsbury, and therefore could not possibly be the Condidan who according to the Chronicle was slain at Deorham in Gloucestershire. Equally unsatisfactory are the attempts which have been made to identify the other two princes Commagil and Farinmagil. But there is one conjecture with respect to these princes which seems to merit attention, though I do not remember to have seen it noticed elsewhere. When we read that three kings were slain at Deorham, and that the three cities of Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath surrendered, it is a natural inference, that the three Welsh princes were lords of the three cities, and that it was together with the men of these cities and of the dependent districts they fought and lost the battle of Deorham. It is matter of some little interest to know, that in all likelihood the last Welshman who bore rule in Gloucester was named Commagil, or—to give the name its latinised form, which may have been to him the most familiar—Cunomagulus.

The conquest of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath must have made the whole valley of the Severn, east of the river and south of Arden, English ground. It is clear from existing remains that during the Roman period Bath was a wealthy and flourishing town; Gloucester, as we know both from Ravennas and from an inscription found at Bath, was a Roman colony; and with respect to Cirencester, there was probably no town at that time in Britain—York, London, and Colchester excepted—which in importance either civil or military could rank before it. These towns must have represented the district. With the exception of some insignificant road-side stations between Bath and the Severn-ferry, there is hardly another place in this part of Britain, whose Roman name has come down to us. It is just possible that one of the Alaunæ and one of the Salinæ mentioned by Ravennas may have been intended for our modern Alchester and Droitwich, but they must have been places of little note, and quite unequal to stem the flood of invasion that had set in upon them. There was no spot where the poor Welshman could find a shelter till he reached the great forest-district which spread over the modern counties of Warwick and Worcester.

The southern limits of the new conquests may, I think, be

defined with much precision,¹ but in the north the limits can only be determined, and that vaguely, by a consideration of the topography and physical conditions of the country. Where there are so many elements of uncertainty, it would be idle to discuss the reasons which led me to lay down the boundaries as they appear in the map. But I am well acquainted with the district, and reasons more or less satisfactory can be given for all the apparently strange wanderings of the pencil. They were not the result of mere accident or caprice.

The possession of Gloucester would naturally tempt our ancestors to cross the river. If we may trust Welsh legend, they carried their inroads, even at the early period of which we are treating, as far westward as the Wye. But the history of the English conquests west of the Severn involves questions of great difficulty, and cannot be discussed incidentally. To avoid premature discussion, I have in the map marked all the country west of the river as Welsh territory.

Seven years after their first settlement in the Severn-valley, our ancestors made another inroad upon the Welshmen. This inroad and the battle it led to forms the subject of the following entry.

A. 584. Now Ceawlin and Cutha fought with the Brits in the place that is called *Fethan leag*, and there Cutha was slain, and Ceawlin took many towns and countless booty, and angry he turned him thence to his own country (*to his agenum*).

In their accounts of this battle Ethelwerd, Florence, and Malmsbury merely copy the Chronicle. Huntingdon tells us that Cuthwine (the Cutha of the Chronicle) fell overpowered with numbers, and that the English were defeated and took to flight; but that Ceawlin again brought the army into order, and inspiring them with a stern determination, at length came off the conqueror.²

I know not whence Huntingdon obtained his knowledge of these particulars, but there is so much that is probable in his story, that I would willingly receive it as true. Fordun labours hard to mix up Aidan King of Scots in all the leading events of this period. He makes him the ally of Maelgwn King of Gwynneth at the battle of *Fethan leag*,³ and the ally of Cadwallon at the battle of Wodensburgh,⁴ when Ceawlin was defeated. Unfortunately for the zealous Scotchman, Maelgwn

¹ Vid. *Journ. of Arch. Inst.*, vol. xvi, p. 105.

² ——"rursus reparato exercitu cum fugam sui abjurassent, tandem prælio victores vicit." (*Hist. Ang.*, 2.)

³ *Scotichron.*, iii, 28.

⁴ *Ib.*, iii, 29.

died¹ nearly forty years before the battle of Fethan leag, and Cadwallon flourished in the seventh instead of the sixth century. According to Fordun,² the battle of Fethan leag was fought at Stanemore in Westmoreland. The motive which led him to fix on this locality is an obvious one. On Stanemore is the "Rie Cross," which certain Scotch writers maintain to be the ancient and proper *limes*³ between Scotland and England. It was accordingly selected as a suitable place for a meeting between a Scottish king and the invading Southron. But it would be waste of time to dwell longer on these fables.

Henry and Hume represent Somerset and Devon as the scene of Ceawlin's conquests, and therefore I presume would locate Fethan leag in one or other of these counties; while our later historians,⁴ almost to a man, identify Fethan leag with Fretherne near Gloucester. I know of no reason for fixing on this locality, except the resemblance supposed to exist between the words *Fretherne* and *Fethan*. But who can point out any known process of corruption by which Fethan could be transformed into Fretherne? Moreover, if we suppose Fretherne to be the place of the battle, where can we find room for the "many towns and countless booty" that were taken after the victory? What significance can we give to the statement that "after the battle Ceawlin turned him thence to his own country?" Frithern was situated in the very heart of the district conquered by the English seven years previously. It lay in the midst of the triangle dominated by the three great for-

¹ A.D. 547. Ann. Cambriæ.

² Scotichron., iii, 28.

³ Usher, whose great demerit is the deference he occasionally shews to our historical romancers, after describing the incidents of the battle of Fethan leag as he found them in the Chronicle and Huntingdon, quotes Fordun as his authority for fixing the locality at Stanemore. (*Ant.*, c. xiv.) Chalmers, whose great object is to bring his Scotchmen as far south as possible, tells us that, "coming to the aid of the Cumbrian Britons, Aidan defeated the Saxons at Fethanlea, at Stanemore in 584"; and he gives as his authority, not his countryman Fordun, but "*Saxon Chron.*, p. 22; Usher's *Princ.*, pp. 870, 1147, which quotes the English Chronicles." (Vid. *Caledonia*, i, 282.) Frauds of the same kind may be found in every third or fourth page of Chalmers' *History*.

⁴ Sh. Turner, *H. of Anglo-Saxons*, 1, 3, 5; Lingard, *H. of Anglo-Saxons*, 12; Lappenburg, *Anglo-Saxon Kings*; B. Thorpe, *Flor. Vigorn.*, 8, n.; *Mon. Hist. Brit. Sax. Chron.*, p. 304, etc. I should mention that the editors of the last mentioned work append a query—"Fritherne?" Mr. Thorpe, who hesitates about "Deorham in Gloucestershire?" has no difficulty about Fretherne,—“the place of the battle was Fretherne in Gloucestershire.”

tresses of Gloucester, Bath, and Cirencester, and when they fell must necessarily have fallen with them.

Where, then, must we look for the place which has given rise to so much conflicting statement? Before we answer the question, it will be necessary to notice a law, which prevails very widely in English topography, and to which I have already on more than one occasion called the attention of the reader. Anglo-Saxon names of places are, almost universally, feminine nouns ending in *e* and forming the genitive case in *an*. When connected with other words, they generally appear as genitives, but sometimes combine with these words and form simple compounds. Thus the Welsh *Glou*,¹ which in Roman geography takes the form of *Glev-um*, was converted by our ancestors, according to the genius of *their* language into *Glew-e*, and they called the town sometimes *Glewan ceaster*, that is, the chester or city of *Glew-e*, and sometimes *Glewe-ceaster*, of which Gloucester is the corruption. Now, in Anglo-Saxon topography, the genitival form was used in the great majority of instances, but in modern usage the simple compound prevails almost to its entire exclusion. There are, indeed, a few names of places which still retain the genitive. Thus Cheltenham is certainly a corruption of *Celtan ham*, the hamlet of the *Celt-e*—*Celt-e* being no doubt the Anglo-Saxon name for the Chelt, the river, or rather brook, which flows through Cheltenham. Instances, however, of these genitival forms are now extremely rare. They have in almost all cases given way to the simple compounds.

The reader will now have little hesitation in recognising a genitive case in the first element of the name *Fethan-leag*, and, in considering such name as equivalent to The lea of Feth-e. If we suppose the place still to retain its ancient appellation, the name would according to analogy take the form of a simple compound, *Fethe-ley*. In certain of our dialects *th* in the middle of a word is often represented by *d*; thus, in the North of England, for *father*, *mother*, *another*, &c., they very commonly say *fader*, *modder*, *anudder*, &c. If the place we are in search of were situated in one of these districts, we might expect to find its name modified accordingly.

Now, just within the borders of Cheshire, at the entrance of the Vale Royal, and some three miles west of Namptwich, is a village called Faddiley. In the neighbourhood of this village I believe the battle of Fethan leag was fought.

Of course, identity of name does not necessarily prove identity of place. Let us, then, inquire how far the selection of

¹ Kair Glou., i.e., Gloucestria. (*H. Hunt.*, lib. i.)

Faddiley, as the place of this battle, will meet the requirements of the story, as they may be gathered from the Chronicle.

If the battle were fought at Faddiley, Ceawlin must have advanced up the Severn valley, and entered Shropshire somewhere in the neighbourhood of Areley Magna. Thence he must have marched to the Tern, and up the valley of that river to the borders of Cheshire; and crossing the line of watershed, he would, a few miles further on, find himself at Faddiley. Such was the most direct route to Faddiley from the Vale of Gloucester, and such I believe to have been the only practicable route at the time in question. Now the valley of the Tern is the very heart of Shropshire, a district full of rich pastures and peopled villages, and abounding in ancient remains, both Roman and British, which show that its advantages were as highly appreciated in the sixth as they are in the nineteenth century. Here, then, we have a country, which might readily furnish the "many towns and countless booty" mentioned in the Chronicle; and as Faddiley is some ninety miles distant from Gloucester, the statement that after the battle Ceawlin "turned him thence to his own country," has an appropriate meaning. Even the strange statement that he returned in anger, seems to admit of explanation, on the hypothesis that has been started. If we suppose that in the ardour of success some of his officers pushed on unbidden into the Vale Royal, and so exposed themselves to an attack from Chester, we can understand the anger which Ceawlin must have felt at an act of imprudence, that led to the loss of a brother, and might, but for the energy with which he hurried to the rescue, have led to the destruction of an army.

Let us now see how far the conclusions we have arrived at agree with the revelations which are furnished us by the light of Welsh tradition. Unsubstantial forms they are, but they may nevertheless be the shadows of real and substantial history.

There is extant an old Welsh *marwnad*, or elegy, which bewails the death of a certain Welsh prince named Kyndylan. The poem is generally ascribed to Llywarch Hen, who is said to have lived in the sixth century. It was edited by Owen Pugh, chiefly it would seem from the Red Book of Herghest, a MS. of the fourteenth century, now the property of Jesus College,¹ Oxford; and was published by him, first, in the *Myvyrian Archaeology*, and secondly, with a translation in a separate vo-

¹ The courtesy with which this society have at all times made it available for the purposes of literature, is too well known to need any eulogy from me.

lume, which contains a collection of Llywarch Hen's poems. It was afterwards edited likewise with a translation by Villemarqué, in his *Bardes Brétons*, professedly¹ from the Black Book of Carmarthen, a MS. of the twelfth century. The first editor modernised the orthography, and frequently altered the wording of his MS.; and as one-third of his translation is open to question, these are liberties which a critical reader will be slow to pardon. But if the reader be dissatisfied with Owen Pugh's edition, the edition of Villemarqué is little likely to secure his confidence. The peculiarities of the language must, I should think, arrest the attention of every one that has studied the comparative grammar of the Celtic dialects; and the perplexities they occasioned me were so great, that I was at last driven to take a journey into Merionethshire, with the view of comparing the printed text with its supposed original. I went over the Black Book, page by page, but could find in it *no trace whatever* of the Elegy on Kyndylan. There were three poems in the MS. with which the name of Llywarch Hen was connected, but only in occasional stanzas did they exhibit any correspondence with the poems that appear in Villemarqué's volume. I mention the fact, but offer no explanation of it. When I add, that Owen Pugh in his edition of the Marwnad frequently gives us various readings, taken professedly from the Black Book (Llyfyr du), the reader will probably agree with me in thinking, that any attempt to unravel these difficulties had better be postponed to a more fitting opportunity.

As the copy of the poem in the Red Book is the oldest I am acquainted with, I have taken it for my text; and in so doing, have been anxious to give a transcript of the MS., which shall be correct, not merely to the letter, but also as regards the junction of words, and the punctuation, blundered though it may be. The only liberty I have taken has been in ranging the lines rhythmically, whereas the MS. has the lines in each triplet written continuously.

My translation is intended to be *literal*. In the versions of Owen Pugh and Villemarqué we frequently have the second

¹ "Comme les autres pièces de Liwarc'h celle-ci est tirée du Livre noir de Hengurt, confronté avec le Livre rouge de Herghest." (*Bardes Brétons*, p. 124.) The Black Book, generally known as the Black Book of Carmarthen, is the most valuable of the Hengwrt MSS. This celebrated collection, which formerly belonged to the Vaughan family, is now the property of Mr. Wynne of Peniarth, M.P. for Merionethshire. It is matter of public interest to know that these precious relics are now in the possession of a gentleman who most thoroughly appreciates their value.

person instead of the third, verbs inserted *ad libitum*, and the rendering in very many cases so loose, that it is impossible to say what construction they have put upon the original. We are sometimes at a loss to know what is the meaning they wish to convey by their translation, and even when the meaning of a triplet taken by itself is tolerably clear, it is often difficult to discover its relevancy, or its connection with the triplet preceding or succeeding. Some of these difficulties may be inherent in the poem itself, as it has come down to us. We know from Giraldus Cambrensis, and it might be easily shown from existing MSS., that many of these old Welsh poems were subjected to great alterations at the hands of successive transcribers. Triplets were transposed and interpolated, and it is quite possible that Llywarch Hen would only occasionally recognise his own handywork in the poem before us. Still, however, the transcriber of the fourteenth century must have seen a certain coherency between the several portions of the poem he was copying; and one part of the duty of a translator will be to point out such coherency as far as he is able. I trust that the present translation, literal though it be, will present to the reader a more intelligible and connected story than can be gathered from the preceding ones.

The poem is written in what is termed the *triban milwr*, or soldier's triplet, that is, in the oldest known form of Welsh versification. Its style is essentially lyrical. One of its peculiarities distinguishes all the poems of Llywarch Hen, or rather I would say distinguishes that school of poetry of which Llywarch Hen was the type—I mean the custom of beginning several consecutive stanzas or triplets, sometimes to the number of ten or more, with the same ejaculatory phrase, which forms as it were the key-note of the stanza. The same images often recur, and the same thought is often presented in slightly varying forms in these consecutive triplets, and owing to such parallelism, we may not unfrequently discover the meaning of a line, which might otherwise occasion us much difficulty. Sometimes the sentence proceeds in the second person, "Kyndylan, thou wert, &c.;" but more frequently in the third, "Kyndylan, he was, &c." In many cases no verb whatever can be discovered, and the triplet is made up of mere ejaculations.

I have appended to my translation copious notes explaining the grounds on which it rests, and affording the reader the means of correcting it when erroneous. A translation of one of these old poems without such accompaniment has always seemed to me to be little better than a fraud upon the reader.

In the opening stanzas, the aged poet imagines himself escaping with the females of his family from the scene of carnage. He has reached some eminence, and rests awhile to contemplate the ruin of his country. The mangled body of his slaughtered chieftain first rises to his view; but he shrinks from the image he has conjured up, and chooses rather to picture him at the head of his Welshmen watching the invaders from the mountain's slope, it may be from the sides of the Wrekin, till goaded by the cries and taunts of his injured countrymen, the fiery chief rushes down upon our ancestors, and meets his death at their hands upon the plain.

Sefvch allan voryanion(1) asyllvch wer-
ydre gyndylan:
llys benn gvern neut tande:
gvaie leueinc(2) aedun brotre.

Vnprenn agouit(4) arnav
odieinc(5) ys odit:
ac aynno(6) duv derfrit.

Kyndylan callon iaen gaeaf:
awant tvrch try y benn:
tu(8) arodeist yr evrrf trenn.

Kyndylan callon godeith wannwyn.
ogyflo(11) yn amgyveith.(13)
yn amwyn tren tref diffeith.

Kyndylan befyrboest kywlat.
kadrynavo(14) kit(15) dynnyavo cat.
amucei(16) tren tref y dat.

1 Stand forth, maidens, and survey the land
of Kyndylan,
Pengwern's palace, is it not in flames?
Woe to the youth that longs for good fel-
lowship!

2 One tree(3) with the tendril on it
Is escaping it may be—
But what God shall have willed, let it come!

3 Kyndylan, with heart like the ice of winter,
With thrust of wild boar(7) through his
head—
Thou hast dispensed the ale of Tren!

4 Kyndylan, with heart like the fire(10) of
spring,
By the common oath, in the midst of the
common speech,(12)
Defending Tren that wasted town!

5 Kyndylan, bright pillar of his country,
Chain-bearer, obstinate in fight,
Protected Tren, his father's town!

1 *Morwyn*, W. *ion* pl. The frequent absorption of the *w* is a marked feature in the language of this poem. Vid *amucsei*, st. 5, *w*, st. 15, &c.

2 Both O. Pugh and Villemarqué make this a plural noun. But the plural form seems occasionally to have been used with a singular meaning. Vid. *Younc*, *Norris' Corn. Voc.* The verb is certainly singular.

3 That is, himself and family. As Shropshire was an *argood*, or woodland, these similes are characteristic and appropriate. Vid. st. 16, 45.

4 O. Pugh, without authority, substituted for this word *gwydd-vid*, the woodbine; and in so doing is followed by Villemarqué. I take the last syllable of *gouit* to be the same as the last syllable of *gwydd-vid*, and go to be the diminutive prefix we find in *go-bant*, *go-vron*, &c.

5 *dianc*, W. The Breton *o* prefixed to infinitives, gives them a participial meaning like the Welsh *yn*.

6 *myn-u*, W. 2nd future, 3rd pers. sing.

7 That is the English enemy. O. Pugh makes *Tvrch* a proper name!

8 This word is not clearly written in the MS. O. Pugh reads *ti*, but without authority. Vid. *perthwac*, st. 28. *Rhodd-i*, W.

9 The change from the third to the second person is remarkable. It seems to intimate a sudden change of feeling on the part of the poet.

10 The *goddairth*, or fire kindled in spring to consume the dried gorse, was subjected to many regulations by the Welsh laws.

11 *cyflw*, W.

12 That is, in the midst of his Welshmen.

13 *gyfaith*, W. I have endeavoured to give the force of the prefix *am*.

14 *cadwynawg*, W.

15 The prefix *cyd*; in modern Welsh the compound would take the form of *cyndyneawg*. This form actually occurs in the next stanza.

16 *amwisg-aw*, W., to wrap round, to shroud. The *w* is absorbed, vid. st. 1, note 1, and the letters *sg.* are transposed.

Kyndylan beuyrbvyl(1) ovri.(2)
kadvyvavo kynddynyavo llu:
amucei tren hyt travu.

Kyndylan callon milgi
pan disgyrnei(3) ygkymelri(4) cat:
calaned(5) aladei.(6)

Kyndylan callon hebavc.
buteir(7) ennwir gynndeyravo.(8)
keneu kyndrvyn kyndynyavo.

Kyndylan callon gvythhwhc
pan disgyrnei ympriffvch(9) cat.
kalaned yndeudrvch.

Kyndylan gulhvch(11) gyanificat llew.
blei dilin(12) disgyrniat:
nyt atner(13) tvrch tref y(14) dat.

Kyndylan hyt tra attat yd adei.
y gallon mor wylat:(16)
gantav(17) mal y gvrvf(18) y cat.

Kyndylan powis borffor wych yt:
kell esbyt bywyt ior:(19)
keneu kyndrvyn kvynitor.

Kyndylan wyan unab kyndrvyn:
ny mat(20) wisc baraf am y drvyn:
gvr ny bo gvell no morwya.

6 Kyndylan, bright intelligence departed,
Chain-bearer, obstinate in the host,
Protected Tren as long as he was living.

7 Kyndylan with heart of greyhound,
When he descended to the turmoil of battle,
A carnage he carved out.

8 Kyndylan with heart of hawk,
Was the true enraged
Cub of Kyndruyn, the stubborn one.

9 Kyndylan with heart of wild boar,
When he descended to the onset of battle,
There was carnage in two heaps.(10)

10 Kyndylan, hungry boar, ravager, lion,
Wolf fast-holding of descent—[town!](15)
The wild boar will not give back his father's

11 Kyndylan! while towards thee fled
His heart, 'twas a great festival
With him, like the press of the battle!

12 Kyndylan of the Powis purple gallant is he!
The strangers' refuge, their life's anchor,
Son of Kyndruyn, the much to be lamented!

13 Kyndylan, fair son of Kyndruyn,(21)
No fitting garb is the beard about the nose,
Will a man be no better than a maid?

1 *pefyr*, W. *puwyl*, W.

2 *obry*, W.

3 *disgyn-u*, W.

4 *cymhelri*, W. The *g* "eclipses" the *k* in *gkymelri*, as it does the *c* in *gcallon*, st. 17. In like manner we have the *t* eclipsed by *n* in *ntauavt*, st. 46. This orthographical expedient, though now confined to the Irish, was at one time very generally used in other languages. Vid. the author's paper on *Orthogr. Expedients* (*Phil. Trans.*, vol. iii, p. 1). Before a guttural, *yn* appears to lose its final *n*; *y-gkymelri*, st. 7; *ygoet*, st. 35, &c. Before a labial, *yn* becomes *ym*; vid. *ympriiffvch*, st. 9; *ymbed*, st. 22; *ymbronn*, st. 52, etc.

5 *celanedd*, W.

6 *ladd*, W.

7 *byddas'r*, W.

8 *cynddeiriawg*, W.

9 *priffvch*, the first push, the onset; *hwhc*, W., a push.

10 That is, I suppose, right and left. *Tvrch*, W., means a cut, a thickness, a depth. Perhaps a better rendering would be, in two swathes.

11 *goulo*, Bret., empty; *gul* may be a connected word.

12 I consider this word to be the root of *dylyn-u*, to cleave to; just as *glyn*, adherent, is the root of *glyn-u*.

13 *adver-u*, W.

14 One difficulty in translating the

poems in the Red Book arises from the different words represented by this letter. Here it evidently represents the Welsh *et*.

15 Stanzas 7, 8, 9, describe, it would seem, Kyndylan's rush down the mountain. From st. 10 we learn the result; the wild boar, i.e., the English enemy, will not give back, &c.

16 *gwylad*, W.

17 *gant*, Bret.

18 *guryf*, W.

19 *eor*, Bret. *heor*, W.

20 *mad*, Bret.

21 In stanzas 11, 12, the poet describes the large heart and noble sympathies of his chieftain. The two following stanzas, according to my rendering, contain the taunts which Llywarch addressed to Kyndylan in order to induce him to rush down to his rescue. In stanzas 15, 16, Llywarch's better nature gets the upper hand, and he bids his chief watch for the general welfare, and leave him to his fate. Throughout the poem Llywarch represents himself as the cause of his chieftain's death. Vid. st. 46, 57. The association which connects the stanzas 13, 14, with the two preceding ones, is not very easily traced. The mention of Kyndylan's generosity seems to have reminded the poet of the circumstances under which he last claimed that prince's aid; and the past comes before him with all the vividness of present reality.

Kyndylan kymvyat(1) vyt:
ar meithyd(2) na bydy lvyt:(3)
amdrebyll(4) trill(5) dy ysgvyt.

Kynddylan kaedi yriv.
ynyday(6) lloegyrwys hediw:
angedd am vn nydiv.(7)

Kyndylan kaedi ynenn.
ynyday lloegyrwys drvy dren:
ny elwir coet o vn pren.

Gan vy gcallon 'i' mor dru.(9)
kysylltu ystyllot(10) du:
gyvan gnwt kindylan kyngnan(11) can-
llu.

14 Kyndylan! a cause of grief thou art—
Set forward will not be the array, [shield!
Around the pressure of the covert of thy

15 Kyndylan, keep thou the slope
Till the Lloegyrwys come to-day,—
Anxiety on account of one is not fitting.

16 Kyndylan, keep thou the top(8)
Till the Lloegyrwys come through Tren—
'Tis not called a wood for one tree!

17 My heart has great misery
In joining together the black boards—
Fair is the flesh of Kyndylan, the common
grief of a hundred hosts!

Pengwern, as is well known, was the old Welsh name for Shrewsbury, and accordingly at Shrewsbury we must fix the *Llys Pengwern*. The attempt to identify the town of Tren will raise questions more difficult to answer, and which had better be deferred till we come to consider what is meant by "the White Town," of which we shall find mention made further on in the poem. *Lloegyr* is the Welsh name for England, and that *Lloegyr-wys* meant the men of England, or in other words our own ancestors, seems clear enough, though even on this point Owen Pugh has contrived to raise a difficulty. In his dictionary he tells us "the English or the inhabitants of modern Lloegyr are always called Saeson and never Lloegyrwys after the name of the country." It would be easy to disprove this assertion from other poems which Owen Pugh has edited; but in truth there are always abundant means at hand of setting Owen Pugh at issue with himself. In the preface to his edition of this very poem, he describes the Lloegyrwys as "probably Saxons and Roman Britons united;" and Villemarqué, following his lead, calls them "les forces combinées des Saxons et des Logriens." Neither of these writers advances a single argument to show there really was any such combination of forces, and I can see no good reason why the Lloegyrwys who invaded Shropshire, might not have been as free from Welsh admixture, as their ancestors who landed ninety years before in Southampton water.

The triplets which follow those we have quoted furnish us with the sequel of the tragedy. They bring successively before

1 *cymhwyad*, W.

2 I have construed *ar meithyd* as if it were a derivative of *arfaeth*. This latter word is compounded of *ar* and *maeth*.

3 *Uwydd*, W.

4 *traffwyl*, W.

5 *tuell*, W.

6 *daw*, W.; 3rd pers. sing. fut. of *daw*—

ed. The subst. aggr. *lloegyrwys* seems here to be put in agreement with a verb singular. Vid. p. 147, n. 28.

7 *gwiv*, W. Vid. p. 142, n. 1.

8 That is, keep your post on the mountain till the enemy attacks you.

9 *droug*, Bret.

10 *estell*, W.

11 *grawn*, W.

us the ruined hall, the eagles sailing over the field of battle, the rescue of the body, and the secret burial.

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno
heb dan heb wely:
wylaf(1) wers,(2) tawaf(3) wedy.

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno.
heb dan heb gannwyll:
namyn duv pvy(4) am dyry(5) pvyll.

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno.
heb dan heb oleuat:(6)
elit(7) amdav amdanat.

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll y nenn.
gvedy gven gyweithyd:(8)
gvae nywna(9) da aedyd.(10)

Stauell gyndylan neut athwyt(11) heb-
wed.
mae imbed(12) dy ysevyt:
hyt tra uu(13) ny bu doll(14) glyt.(15)

Stauell gyndylan ys dygaryat(16) heno.
gwedy yr neb pietat(17)
—(18) a anghau(19) byrr ymgat.(20)

Stauell gyndylan nyt esmwyth heno.
arben carrec hytwyth:
heb ner. heb niner heb amvyth.(22)

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno.
heb dan heb gerdeu:(23)
dygystud(24) deurud(25) dagreu.

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno.
heb deulu.
hedyl men yt gynnu.(27)

Stauell gyndylan amgvan(28) y gvelet.
heb doet(29) heb dan:
marv vyglyr.(30) buv(31) muhuman.(32)

18 Kyndylan's Hall is dark to-night,
Without fire, without bed!
I'll weep awhile, afterwards I shall be silent.

19 Kyndylan's Hall is dark to-night,
Without fire, without candle!
God except, who will give me patience?

20 Kyndylan's Hall is dark to-night,
Without fire, without light— [thee!
Let there come spreading silence around

21 Kyndylan's Hall! dark is its roof
After the fair assemblage!
Alas, it makes not well its end!

22 Kyndylan's Hall, art thou not bereft of
seemliness?
In the grave is thy shield!
As long as he was living, there was no
break in the shingle.

23 Kyndylan's Hall is forlorn to-night,
Since there has been no one owning it—
— ah! death will not leave me long!

24 Kyndylan's Hall is not pleasant to-night,
On the top of Carrec Hytwyth—(21) [feast!
Without lord, without company, without

25 Kyndylan's Hall is gloomy to-night,
Without fire, without songs—
Tears are the trouble of my cheeks!

26 Kyndylan's Hall is gloomy to-night,
—(26) without family—

27 Kyndylan's Hall pierces me to see it,
Without roof, without fire—
Dead is my chief, myself alive!

1 gwyl-aw, W.
2 gwers, W.
3 taw, W.; tav, Bret., silence. The
verb seems to be now obsolete in both
languages.

4 pvy, W.
5 dyro-i, W.
6 goleud, W.
7 el-u, W.; imp. mood.
8 cyweithydd, W.
9 gwn-a, W.
10 dyfeth, W.
11 ath-u, W.
12 imbed. Vid. p. 143, n. 4.

13 This must be read *vu*, or in Welsh
orthography *fu*. Generally the *v*'s in this
MS. are to be pronounced as *u*'s, and the
u's as *v*'s.

14 tawl, W.
15 clawd, W.
16 digariad, W.

17 piau, W.
18 I cannot well make this word out.
Villemarqué quotes the Red Book as read-
ing *wi*. The word may possibly be *gwi*.
19 ankou, Bret.
20 ymgad-u, W.
21 This seems to have been the old
Welsh name of the Castle Hill at Shrews-
bury.

22 ammwyth, W.
23 cerdd, W. Pl. cerddi. Vid. p. 146, n. 1.
24 dygystudd, W.
25 deurudd, W.
26 Some words have been evidently
omitted in the MS.

27 I cannot construe this line.
28 gwan-u, W.
29 toad, W.
30 glyw, W.
31 byw, W.
32 myhuman, W.

Stauell gyndylan ys peithnac(1) heno.
gvedy ketwyr(2) uodave : (3)
eluan kyndylan kaeave.

Stauell gyndylan ys oergrei(4) heno.
gvedy y parch ambaci : (5)
heb wyr heb wraged(6) ae catwei.

Stauell gyndylan ys araf heno.
gvedy colli y hinaf :
y mavr drugauc duv pawnaf. (8)

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll y nenn.
gvedy dyna ologyrwys :
kyndylan ae eluan powys.

Stauell gyndylan ystywyll heno.
oblaet kyndrwn :
kynon agriavn agvyn.

Stauell gyndylan amerwan(9) pobawr
gvedy mavr ymgynyrddan. (10)
aweileis av dy bentan.

Eryr eli ban ylef(12)
llewssei(13) gyrr llyn :
creu callon kyndylan wynn.

Eryr eli gorelwi(14) heno
y(15) gvaet gyrr gyynn novi : (16)
ef ygoeti(17) trwm hoet ymi.

Eryr eli aglywaf(19) heno.
creulyt yv nys beidyaf. (20)
ef ygoet trwm(22) hoet arnaf.

Eryr eli gorthrymet(23) heno.
dyffrynt meissir mygedave :
dir brochmael hir rigodet. (25)

28 Kyndylan's Hall lies waste to-night,
After warriors contented—
Elvan, Kyndylan, Kaeau!

29 Kyndylan's Hall is piercing cold to-night,
After the honour that befell me—
Without the men, without the women it
sheltered!

30 Kyndylan's Hall is still to-night,
After the losing of its Elder—
The great —(7) God! what shall I do?

31 Kyndylan's Hall! gloomy is its roof
Since the destruction by the Loegyrrwys
Of Kyndylan and Elvan of Powis.

32 Kyndylan's Hall is gloomy to-night
On account of the children of Kyndrayn—
Kynon and Gwiaun and Gwyn.

33 Kyndylan's Hall pierces me every hour—
After the great gathering din at the fire
Which I saw at thy(11) fire-hearth!

34 Eli's eagle, loud his cry :
He has swallowed fresh drink,
Heart-blood of Kyndylan fair!

35 Eli's eagle screams aloud to-night,
In the blood of fair men he wallows!
He is in the wood(18), a heavy grief to me!

36 Eli's eagle I hear to-night—
Bloody is he—I defy not(21)—
He is in the wood—a heavy grief to me!

37 Eli's eagle, let him afflict to-night
Meissir's vale(24) illustrious— [it!
Brochmael's(26) land!—long let him affront

1 *peithnac*, W. : *u* seems occasionally to take the place of one of the narrow vowels, *i*, *y*, &c. Vid. *muhunan*, st. 27; *tu* for *ti*, st. 3; *egverin* for *ei gverin*, st. 54, &c.

2 *cadwr*, W. : *cedwyr*, pl.

3 *boddawg*, W.

4 *oergrat*, W.

5 *buaei*, W. The pluperfect tense seems to have been used occasionally with the sense of the perfect. Vid. *llewssei*, st. 34.

6 *guraig*, W. : *gureigedd*, pl.

7 Owen Pugh reads *drugaraug*, but I do not know on what authority; and Villemarqué, following him, has *trugarok*. These words of course represent the Welsh *trugarawg*, merciful. I cannot construe *drugauc*.

8 *guna*, W.

9 *erwan-u*, W.

10 O. Pugh translates this word by "reechoing clamour," Villemarqué by "tumult." *Dyar* means a din; and supposing this word compounded with *cy*, and the *d* would be changed to *n*, and we might account for the two middle syllables of *ymgynyrddan* : the prefix *ym* would further give us *ymgynyr*, a surrounding din. The last syllable is, I suppose, the Welsh

tan. If so, it should be written as a distinct word.

11 The change of person does not admit of an easy explanation.

12 *Uef*, W.

13 *llew-a*, W. : pluperfect, 3rd sing. Vid. *buei*, st. 29.

14 *goralw*, W. : 3rd sing., old form.

15 Vid. *ygkymetri*, st. 7.

16 *nofi-aw* : 3rd sing., old form.

17 Vid. *ygkymetri*, st. 7.

18 *i.e.*, in his coffin.

19 *clwy-ed*, W.

20 *beiddiau*, W.

21 This and the twelve following triplets contain, as I construe them, a mere outpouring of despair. In his prostration the poet bids welcome to the evils that are overwhelming him.

22 I take this to be the same word as *trwm* in st. 35, though with a different orthography.

23 *gorthrym-u*, W. : imp. m. 3rd sing.

24 *Meissir*, as we gather from the latter part of the poem, was Kyndylan's sister.

25 *rhigodd-i*, W. : imp. m. 3rd sing.

26 This must be the celebrated Brochmael Ysgythrawg, king of Powis.

Eryr eli echeidr(1) myr.
nythreid(2) pyscavt(3) ynebyr.
gelvit(5) gvelit(6) owaet gwyr.

Eryr eli gorymda coet.
kyuore kynyaua:(7)
ae llavoh(8) llvydit(9) ydraha.(10)

Eryr penngvern penngarn llyvt.
aruchel yafles.(11)
eidic amgio.

Eryr penngvern penngarn llyvt.
aruchel y euan.(13).
eidic amgio(14) kyndylan.

Eryr pengvern pengarn llyvt.
aruchel y adaf(15).
eidic amgio agara.

Eryr pengvern pell galwv(16) heno.
arwaet gyvr gylat:(17)
ry gelwir trenn tref difavt.(18)

Eryr penngvern pell gelwit heno.
arwaet gyvr gvelit:
ry gelwir trenn tref lethrit.(19).

Eglvyssen bassa yorffwys(20) heno.
ydwedd(21) ymgynvys.(22)
cledyr(23) kat callon argoetwis.

Eglvyssen bassa ynt faeth heno.
vyntauv(25) ae gynaeth:(26)
rud ynt vy rwy vy hiraeth.

Eglvyssen bassa ynt yng heno.
yetued kyndrvyn:
tir mablan kyndylan wyn.

Eglvyssen bassa ynt tirion heno
ygvnaeth eu meillyon:(28)
rud ynt vy. rvy vyngcallon(29)

38 Eli's eagle keeps the seas; [mouth(4)—
He will not course the fish in the river's
Let him call—let him look out for the blood
of men!

39 Eli's eagle traverses the wood
At dawn to feast—
His greed—may his boldness prosper it!

40 Pengwern's eagle with the grey horn-beak,
Very loud his echoing voice
Eager for the flesh, &c.(13)

41 Pengwern's eagle with the grey horn-beak,
Very loud his call of defiance,
Eager for Kyndylan's flesh!

42 Pengwern's eagle with the grey horn-beak,
Very loud his clamour.
Eager for the flesh of him I love!

43 Pengwern's eagle! from afar is his call to-
For the blood of men is his look out. [night,
Truly will Tren be called the ruined town!

44 Pengwern's eagle! from afar let him call
to-night—
For the blood of men let him look out—
Truly will Tren be called the town of flame!

45 Bassa's churches! there rests to-night—
There ends—there shrinks within himself,
He that was the shelter in battle—heart
of the men of Argoet!(24)

46 Bassa's churches are enriched to-night—
My tongue hath done it!
Ruddy(27) are they, overflowing my grief!

47 Bassa's churches are close neighbouring
To the heir of Kyndryn— [to-night
Graveyard of Kyndylan fair!

48 Bassa's churches are lovely to-night—
Their clover hath made them so—
Ruddy are they, overflowing my heart!

1 cadw, W.

2 treidiau, W.

3 pysgod, W.

4 The meaning seems to be, usually he keeps the seas; now he does not chase the fish, but looks out for the blood of men.

5 galw, W.

6 gyliau, W.

7 ciniaw, W.

8 llawg, W.

9 llydd-aw, W.

10 traha, W.

11 adlais, W.

12 Some words are here evidently omitted in the MS.

13 I have construed this word as if it were a derivative of *hew*. O. Pugh, in his edition, spells it *teuan*. There is an adjective, *teuin*, clamorous.

14 cig, W.

15 aedd, W., a din; *adaf* may be a derivative.

16 A derivative of *galw*.

17 A derivative of *gvel-ed*.

18 difoed, W. 19 llethrid, W.

20 gorffowys, W.

21 diwedd-u, W.

22 ymgynvys-aw, W.

23 cledwr, W.

24 The Welsh seem to have given to Shropshire the name of Argoed, or woodland.

25 tafawd, W. The *t* is here eclipsed by the *n*.

26 gwn, W.: pret.

27 That is, with blood.

28 mellion, W.; subst. aggr. Vid. *loegyrr-wys*, p. 144, n. 6.

29 Here *ng* eclipses the *c* of *callon*.

Eglvysseu bassa collasant en breint.(1)
gvedy y dyua o loegyryws :
kyndylan ac eluan powys.

Eglvysseu bassa ynt dina heno.
ychetwyr(2) ny phara.(3)
gyr awyr ami yma.

Eglvysseu bassa ynt baruar(4) heno.
aminneu wyf dyar :
nid ynt vy rvy vyggalar.(6)

Y dref wenn ymbroon y coet.
yef yv yhefras(7) eiryot :
ar wyneb y gwellt y gvaet.

Y dref wen ynythyr(8)
y hefras yglas vyuyr : (10)
y gvaet adan draet y gyr.

Y dref wen yndyffvynt [kat:
llbawen yvdeir(11) vrth gyvanrud(12)
ygerin(13) neurdynt.

Y dref wenn rvng trenn athrodwyd.
Oed gnodach ysgwyt tonn :
yndyot o gat nogyt yoh ychwyd.

Y dref wenn rvng trenn athraual.
Oed gnodach y gvaet : (15)
Ar wyneb gwellt noc eredic brynar.(16)

Gwynn yvvt(17) freur mor yv diheint(18)
gvedy colli keuneint : (19) [heno
canffvt(20) vyntaavt(21) yt lesseint.

40 Bassa's churches have lost their privilege
Since the destruction by the Loegyryws
Of Kyndylan and Elvan of Powys.

50 Bassa's churches are to make an end to—
The warriors are not to continue. [night:
He knows who knoweth all things, and I
here know.

51 Bassa's churches are still to-night—
And I am to cry!
They(5) are not, overflowing is my lament.

52 The White Town in the bosom of the wood!
There has ever been of its lustyhood,
On the surface of the grass, the blood!

53 The White Town in the country side!
Its lustyhood, its grey thoughtfulness,(9)
The blood under the feet of its warriors!

54 The White Town in the valley!
Joyful its troop with the common spoil of
Its people are they not gone? [battle—

55 The White Town between Tren and Trod.
More common was the broken shield [wyd!
Coming from battle than the evening ox.(14)

56 The White Town between Tren and Traval.
More common was the blood
On the surface of the grass than the
ploughed fallow.

57 Alas, Freur! how sad is it to-night,
After the loss of kindred. [slain, &c.
By the mishap of my tongue were they

Freur, as we learn from the latter part of the poem, was Kyndylan's sister. I do not, however, intend to trace out the various members of this chieftain's family; nor shall I speculate as to the rank or power they possessed among their countrymen. All that we can know on these matters must be gathered from the poem; and, as we have no means of com-

1 *braint*, W.
2 *cadwr*, W.: *cedwyr*, pl.
3 *para*, W. 4 *parwar*, W.
5 That is, the warriors mentioned in the preceding stanza.
6 *galar*, W.
7 *evras*, W., means plump; and in his Dictionary O. Pugh makes the word a substantive, on the authority of the passage in the text. He there defines it the "plumpness of youth." Villemarqué reads *yevras*, but I believe without any authority.
8 *tymhyr*, W., properly means one's native district.
9 That is, its grey-headed seniors. O. Pugh construes "its blue sons of contemplation," and supposes that the bards are meant!

10 *myfyr*, W.
11 *byddair*, W.
12 *anrhaeth*, W., spoil; *cyfanrhaeth*, common or public spoil. O. Pugh and Villemarqué give us *cyvamug*, but I do not know on what authority.
13 *v* seems to be the same word as is generally found spelled *y* in the MS.
14 That is, returning from pasture.
15 This is evidently the same word as is elsewhere spelt *gvaet* or *gvaet*.
16 *braenar*, W.
17 *gwyn ei fyf* is still used as an adverbial expression in Welsh.
18 *dihawnt*, W.
19 *cyfna*, W.; *cyfneaint*, pl.
20 *anfawd*, W.
21 *tafawd*, W.; the *t* is eclipsed by the *n*.

parison, we have no sure ground whereon to base any critical inference. Such inquiries, moreover, would throw but little light on the subject immediately before us. Indeed, the latter part of the poem contains so little that is of historical interest, that it would hardly repay us for the time and trouble which must be spent in unravelling its difficulties. I shall not, therefore, proceed further with my translation.

Bassa's Churches were no doubt a group of small churches, such as we find at Glendalough and other places in Ireland. The hallowed spot where the last Welsh Lord of Pengwern received a hurried and a blood-stained burial, may probably be recognised in Baschurch, a small town, or rather village, lying some seven miles north of Shrewsbury. Names of places on the Welsh border appear to be in many cases little more than loose translations of the Welsh names that preceded them, and Baschurch renders with sufficient precision the Welsh phrase *Eglwysau Bassa*.

It may help us to fix the locality of the "White Town" if we first ascertain what meaning was generally given to the phrase in the early times of which we are now treating. Withorn in Galloway, where St. Ninia the Welsh apostle of the Southern Picts fixed his episcopal seat in the fourth century, was by our Saxon ancestors termed *hwit ærn* or White Cell. Bede tells us that the place was commonly called "*Ad candidam casam*," because Ninia had there "built a church of stone after a fashion new to the Britons"—*Hist. Ecc.*, c. iv. From this passage it seems probable that the church was called *candida casa* as early as the fourth century, when Ninia built it; and it is clear it was so called when Bede wrote, that is, a little more than a century after Ceawlin's inroad. We may infer that in the sixth and seventh centuries the term *white* was applied to buildings of hewn stone, in contradistinction to houses built of timber or mere dry walling. Now Shropshire was an *Argoed*,¹ or woodland, and the vast number of wooden houses still to be seen in its towns and villages shows the kind of material which must always have been the most available for constructive purposes. Its ancient towns were no doubt mainly built of timber. There is but one place in the district which we know, or with any show of probability can suppose, to have been built after the Roman fashion; and I believe Uriconium to be the "White Town," whence issued the bands of warriors whose prowess is dwelt upon with such mingled pride and sadness by the poet.

That an ancient highway—either a paved road or a drift-

¹ Vid. st. 45.

way—ran alongside the Severn and entered Worcestershire, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Areley Magna, is almost certain: and equally so is it, that such highway crossed the Tern and passed through Uriconium. Through the same town ran the Watling Street. A traveller therefore from Pengwern, or from the upper part of the valley of the Tern, would pass that river immediately before reaching Uriconium; and when he reached the town might, as his occasions led him, either proceed further south, or pass eastward along the Watling Street. It was probably with reference to the two routes thus open to the traveller that the poet uses the phrases, "The White Town between Tren and Trodwyd," "The White Town between Tren and Traval." Traval and Trodwyd may have been noted places on the other side of Uriconium, on the line of these two highways—Trodwyd¹ being probably some forest-defile. That the poet considered Tren to be the name of a river as well as of a town appears from a triplet in the latter part of the poem, which speaks of the confluence of the Tren and the Tridonwy, that is, as I take it, of the Tern and the Roden.

If the river Tren was our modern Tern, we must look for the town of Tren somewhere in the neighbourhood of this river. In the topography of every country, towns and villages readily take the name of the stream that flows past them; and the reader will easily call to mind some brook that gives its name to more than one village on its banks—epithets such as *great, little, wet, dry*, etc., being used for distinction's sake. On this very river we have a village called Tern; but it certainly has no pretensions to represent the town of Tren we are now in search of. It is clear that Kyndylan of Shrewsbury must have been lord of the whole surrounding country. His usual place of abode may have been on Carrec Hytwyth, but the great town, "his fathers' town," which figures so largely in the poem under the name of Tren, must have been the capital of his district. There was but one place which in Roman times had any pretensions to be so considered; and I believe that Tren and the "White Town" alike represent the Roman Uriconium.

It may be asked, if Tren and Uriconium be the same place, how can we account for the difference of name? The objection is a very reasonable one, and requires on our part a very careful answer.

Most of our Roman towns have in their neighbourhood earth-works, supposed to be the remains of the more ancient British

¹ *Gwydd* (W.), trees; *trawd*, a journey, a passage: hence it would seem *Trodwydd*, the wooded pass.

towns which they supplanted; Colchester has the earthworks at Lexden, Dorchester the Maiden Camp, Chichester the Brill, and so forth. We are generally told that these Roman towns grew out of the camps which were constructed during the siege of the neighbouring stronghold. I believe this to be a mistake. Temporary camps may sometimes be traced near these strongholds, and that they were constructed by the besiegers is very probable. But such camps differ both in their character and in the circumstances of their position from the towns, whose origin we are now investigating. The latter are mostly situated in the valley near the river, and often two or three miles from the scarped heights, which generally represent the British fortress; while the temporary camps, at least such as have fallen under my notice, lie only just beyond flight-shot from the fortress, and were evidently constructed more for the annoyance of the besieged, than with any view to the convenience of the besiegers. The towns were probably erected as the different provinces, one after another, bent the neck to the yoke, and consented to receive the "*præsidia castellaque*," which the Proprætor for the time being might think necessary to secure their obedience.

For one of these garrison-towns Uriconium seems to have been originally intended; though it was probably inhabited in the sixth century by a population consisting for the most part of Romanized Britons. It lay about a third of a mile from the Tern, near its junction with the Severn, and about three miles from the Wrekin, on or near to which we have reason to believe was a native town, the old British capital of the district. This native town there can be little doubt continued to exist beside the Roman town, till the inroad of Ceawlin involved both in one common ruin.

We must not suppose that the British earthworks or "camps," as they are sometimes called, necessarily included within their circuit the whole of a British settlement. There are instances in which only scanty traces of habitation are found within the ramparts, while outside of them extend lines of hut-circles for a mile or more—showing clearly that the fortress was only used when the presence of an enemy made it necessary. The remains of an earthwork may still be traced on the Wrekin, and they represent no doubt the *dinle wrecon* or stronghold of the Wrekin of which mention is made in the latter part of the poem. It is probable, however, that the greater part of the British town lay at the foot of the hill to the westward, and that the space between

¹ Tac. Agric., 20.

it and the Roman town on the banks of the Tern was more or less thickly covered with buildings, cemeteries, tileries, etc., such as we find traces of near other Roman stations, Caister for example. The whole of this space, the Roman town included, seems to have taken the name of the British town, and to have been called Uriconium. But no doubt the people of the neighbourhood made nicer distinctions. As the Londoner distinguishes between London and Westminster, so would they distinguish between the *dinle wrecon* and the Roman town, to which they seem to have given the name of the river beside which it stood. In the British town was no doubt much of the old British rudeness, and much of Italian refinement in its Roman neighbour. The relations between the two may have been very similar to those that exist between the "Irish town" and the "English town" in some of our Irish cities.

A like case of confusion between the general and the special name occurs in the Itinerary. The 5th iter, which proceeds northwards from London, gives the distance between Cæsaromagus and Colonia as twenty-four miles; the 9th iter, which proceeds to London southwards, and according to our ablest antiquaries traverses the same ground as the 5th iter, gives us the distance from Camulodunum to Canonium as eight miles, and from Canonium to Cæsaromagus as twelve—in all twenty miles. That Colchester represents the Colonia of the 5th iter seems to be generally admitted; and that it represents the Camulodunum of Tacitus and of the 9th iter is maintained by writers of so much weight and by arguments so convincing, as to leave little room for doubt upon the subject. To account for the discrepancy of name we must suppose that the Roman town was specially called Colonia¹—the Colony—because it was the first and the most important colony founded by the Romans in the island; and that the entire settlement took the name of Camulodunum from the British town at Lexden, to which it owed its origin. Some of the difficulties connected with this iter remain to be explained, but the principal ones, and among them we must rank the difference in the distances, may be accounted for on this hypothesis.

"Pengwern's eagle" must have been a denizen of the woods, which, we may reasonably suppose, at one time covered the banks of the Severn near Shrewsbury. But the harbourage of

¹ If we might suppose that Colonia took its name from the river on which it stood (the Colne), the case of Camulodunum would be exactly parallel to that of Uriconium. But on this supposition I should expect, from analogy, that the town would be called Colonium, or Colinium.

"Eli's eagle" is not so easily discovered. Villemarqué goes in search of it as far as Ireland, but we may, I think, seek for it nearer home with better hopes of success. Bede tells us, that Alcluyth, the old name for Dunbarton, meant the rock of the Clyde—*Hist. Ecc.*, xii; Helvellen, there is little doubt, meant the yellow mountain, as Rhiwvelen, that name so common in Welsh topography, meant the yellow slope—the different localities deriving their respective names from the yellow bloom of the gorse that covered them. It would seem, then, that *Al* or *Hel* was used in ancient British topography to denote a rocky height. Now, some twelve miles up the valley of the Tern there is a high and very remarkable ridge of rocks called Hawkstone. It runs towards the river, but dies away at Hodnet, shortly before reaching it. If this ridge were called¹ the *Hel* or *El*, the strong British fortress in front of it which goes by the name of Bury Walls might very well, according to analogy,² take the name of *Elig*, and as the final *g* is dropped in Welsh almost as freely as in English, we at once get the name of *Eli*. Here then we have two British strongholds, one in the valley of the Severn at Pengwern, some five miles from Uriconium, the other twelve miles distant up the valley of the Tern; and the picture of the two eagles, each sailing down his valley to the battle-field, seems to me to be no less true to nature than it is striking as a piece of poetry.

In triplet 37 Kyndylan's country is styled the land of Brochmael. I think we may conclude at the time when the events took place which the poem refers to, a prince named Brochmael held the suzerainty in that part of Britain. There is reason to suppose that he was the same person as the prince of that name who, according to Bede, was present at the battle of

¹ There is some slight evidence that such was actually the case. Near to Hodnet is a place called Helshaw. We may surmise that, of several "shaws" in the neighbourhood, the one which approached nearest to Hawkstone took from it its name, and was called the Helshaw.

² *Elig* would really be an adjective, and would signify belonging to the *El*. But adjectives of this class are constantly used both in Welsh and in Breton as substantives denoting place. In modern Welsh, Shrewsbury is called *Tref Amwythig*, the moated or the merry town—Welsh scholars are not agreed as to the etymology—but the important point is, that the town is often called *Amwythig*, without the substantive. (*Phil. Trans.*, i, No. 6.) Avaricum (Bourges) lay on the river *Avar-a*, and Autricum (Chartres) on the river which was called *Autura*. (Walckenaer, i, 399.) The connexion between the names of the towns and the names of the rivers is obvious, and is noticed by Walckenaer, though he does not attempt to explain its nature.

Chester.¹ This celebrated battle was fought, according to the Saxon Chronicle, in 607, but, according both to the *Annales Cambriæ* and to Tighernac, in 613, which is probably the true date. If we follow this calculation, thirty-six years must have elapsed between the date of Ceawlin's inroad and Ethelfrith's advance upon Chester; and, though this interval might well be comprised within the reign of one prince, yet it is long enough to make some explanation desirable. The circumstances of the case readily furnish it. The *Annales Cambriæ* inform us that Selim, son of Cynan, fell in the battle of Chester. Now Cynan is always represented as the son of Brochmael, and accordingly it would appear that the grandson of Brochmael was engaged in the battle. It is clear, therefore, that the Welsh king must at that time have been a man in advanced life, a circumstance which explains the fact mentioned by Bede, that he took his station with the monks of Bangor, who had come to pray for the success of their countrymen. Brochmael, therefore, may very well have been King of Powis when Ceawlin attacked Uriconium; and it was probably under the leadership of this Welsh king that the Britons succeeded in arresting the further progress of the invaders at the battle of Faddiley.

I trust I have now advanced arguments sufficient to convince the critical reader that it was Ceawlin, King of Wessex, who destroyed Uriconium. He appears to have wasted the whole valley of the Tern, and perhaps we may say the whole of the district to which we now give the name of Shropshire. But the Britons were still powerful enough to prevent his penetrating either into the valley of the Weaver, or into that of the Dee. For thirty-five years after Ceawlin's inroad, the King of Powis kept his hold of Chester, till, in the year 613, he suffered at the hands of Ethelfrith the terrible defeat which Bede has commemorated. From that date the marches between North Wales and England have remained, with occasional variations, much as we find them at the present day.

Here it was my intention to have brought this paper to a close. But it has been suggested to me that I ought not to pass over without remark certain speculations, which have lately obtained a good deal of public notice, and which, it must be confessed, are altogether at variance with the conclusions which I have been endeavouring to establish in the present essay. These speculations were first brought forward by Mr. Thomas Wright, in a paper which appeared in the *Transactions* of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (vol. viii, p.

¹ Hist. Eccl., 2.

141), and have since been maintained in other papers published in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. His views have already met with formidable opponents in Mr. Basil Jones and others, and therefore my present notice of them may be the shorter.

According to Mr. Wright, "the popular story that the people who resisted the Saxons was the ancient Celtic population of the island is a mere fiction." The scanty remains of that population were the serfs who cultivated the land. The "Britons" who resisted our ancestors were "a mixture of races foreign to the island, and lived congregated in towns." After the open country was overrun by the invaders, the towns lying in that part of Britain which is now called England for the most part yielded "on composition," and still exist as English towns or cities. But in the west of Britain it was otherwise. "The strong town of Deva or Chester held its ground on the north, and Glevum or Gloucester survived, and a Roman town on the site of Worcester may also have been preserved, but the line of strong towns between Gloucester and Chester—Ariconium, Magna, Bravinium, Uriconium, etc.," with the other Roman towns in Wales, were "utterly destroyed." Who, then, were the people who wrought all this fearful ruin in the West of Britain?

Mr. Wright, in answer to this question, tells us that Armorica "was never completely Romanised." Its Celtic population, holding "fiercely to their own nationality, were accustomed to navigation and piracy,"—were indeed "no less piratical than the Saxons themselves." At the beginning of the fifth century they "resumed their ancient barbarism," and "were the heart and nerve of that formidable Bagauderie which threatened the safety of the Roman government in Gaul." When Aetius to a certain extent re-asserted Roman dominion in Armorica, they fled before him, and invaded the western coasts of Britain. It was "a fiercer invasion and conquest of the country, and much more destructive than the invasion of the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons in the other parts of the island." The new barbarians exterminated the Romanised inhabitants of the land, destroyed Uriconium, etc., and settling down in the desert they had made, became the ancestors of the modern Welsh—the old story that the Britons fled to the continent, and gave name to Brittany, being of course a fiction.

No authorities are quoted in support of these statements. They are only assertions and inferences, and may be treated accordingly. As far, then, as our knowledge goes, the people of Armorica had nothing to do with the *bagauderie*—if by this

Mr. Wright means the insurrection of the *bagaudæ* or peasants, of which Aurelius Victor and Eutropius make mention; and just as little had they to do with piracy. They exhibited a spirit of turbulence in their relations with the Roman government; but their country was intersected in all directions with Roman roads, and, as we have every reason to believe, was as thoroughly Romanized as the average of the Gallic provinces¹—certainly as much so as the western parts of Britain. As to the alleged disappearance of the Celtic element from among the British population, I will only remark, that every Briton who is mentioned either by Bede or by the writers in the Chronicle, as an opponent of our ancestors, bears a name of Celtic origin; and though some of them may have been of Roman descent, yet it is clear from the significance of certain of the names, that the nationality with which they identified themselves was Celtic both in origin and in feeling. Of the circumstances under which the British towns came into possession of our ancestors we know but little. That little, however, directly contradicts Mr. Wright's statements. We know that they wasted many of these towns—Pevensey, Silchester, Verulam, Cambridge, Chester,² etc.—and good reasons may be given for the belief that even London itself for awhile lay desolate and uninhabited. The towns in the west of Britain which bore the first brunt of heathen fierceness, were for the most part sacked and burnt; those which lay more to the westward, and which our ancestors reached at a later period—Maridunum, Venta, Segontium, etc.—long continued to be peopled cities. According to Mr. Wright these last-mentioned towns should have been the first destroyed.

I hope that enough has now been advanced on this subject to show that Mr. Wright's settlement of its difficulties has made a re-opening of the question neither superfluous nor uncalled for.

¹ By this phrase I mean the provinces inhabited by the people to whom Cæsar more especially gives the name of Galli. The inhabitants of Aquitaine and of the valley of the Rhone had been long before distinguished by their adoption of Roman manners and customs.

² According to Mr. Wright, Chester was one of the British towns that were "preserved."

ANCIENT LORDS OF MECHAIN.

MR. YORKE, in his *Royal Tribes of Wales*,¹ informs us that Madoc ap Meredith, Prince of Powis Vadoc, gave to Owain and Eliza, two of his legitimate sons, Mechain iscoed in the Upper Powys, and lands in the neighbourhood of Chirk Castle. We know that Owen Vaughan ap Madoc was lord of Mechain Iscoed; and hence we may infer, perhaps, on Mr. Yorke's authority, that the portion which fell to Elis or Elisa was in the neighbourhood of Chirk.

All that I can learn of Elis ap Madoc is that, in 1202, he boldly refused to join with Llewelyn ap Jerwerth and the other magnates of North Wales against his cousin Wenwynwyn, the son of Owen Cyveilioc, and with all his energy endeavoured to bring about a peace between them.² For this good office he appears to have been shamefully rewarded; for we are next informed that "*therefore*, after the clergy and religious had concluded a peace between Wenwynwyn and Llewelyn, the territory of Elise ap Madoc was taken from him, and ultimately there was given him for maintenance in charity the castle of Crogen, with seven small townships."³

Castle Crogen was the ancient name for Chirk Castle; and I conclude that it was here that his estates lay, and not at Crogen in Merionethshire, which appears to have fallen to the share of his brother Owen Brogyntyn.

I can find no further mention of Elis ap Madoc; and since the lordship of Chirk reverted to the elder branch of his family, we may perhaps conjecture that he died without issue.

Owen Vaughan, the second son of Madoc ap Meredith and elder brother of Elise, is said to have had the lordship of Mechain Iscoed, in Upper Powys, for his portion of his father's inheritance.⁴ He was pro-

¹ P. 61.

² Brut y Tywysogion, p. 259.

³ Ib.

Powell's Chronicle, p. 153.

bably called Vaughan (or junior) to distinguish him from his illegitimate but more eminent brother, Owen Brogyntyn.

In 1165, in conjunction with his cousin, Owen Cyveilioc, he drove his uncle Jerwerth Goch ap Meredith from his people and his territory in Mochnant, which he shared with Owen Cyveilioc.¹ In this partition Mochnant uwch Rhaiadr fell to the latter, and Mochnant is Rhaiadr to Owen Vaughan ap Madoc.

In the following year he was content to partake of the spoils of his former companion in arms, and received the lordship of Caereinion at the hands of Owen and Cadwalader, the sons of Griffith ap Cynan, princes of North Wales, who had driven Owen Cyveilioc from his territory. The latter, however, was enabled to recover speedy possession of his lands by the help of the English, who broke down and burnt the castle of Caereinion, and put the garrison to the sword.²

The death of Owen ap Madoc was in keeping with the events of his life. He was slain by night at the castle of Carreghova by Wenwynwyn, the son of Owen Cyveilioc, and his base brother Caswalhon Maeleri in the year 1186,³ leaving issue two sons, Llewelyn and Owen Vaughan (II), who divided his lands between them.⁴

Llewelyn ap Owen must have been dead in 1241, when "*Llewelinus Wagham et Audoenus Wagham avunculus suus*" had fined £50, before H. Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, S. de Segrave, W. de Cantilupe, and others at Shrewsbury, in order that they might have seisin of their lands in "Mogheinant & Ucerrearder."⁵ (?) This would have been in March or the beginning of May 1241. On the 9th of May the king's mandate was issued to John l'Estrange, ordering him to give them such seisin as they ought to have in the said

¹ Brut y Tywysogion.

² Ib.

³ Ib.

⁴ Powell's Chronicle, p. 154.

⁵ Excerpta e Rot. Fin., 25 Hen. III. (A misreading, perhaps, for Mochnant Is Rhaiader.)

lands after he shall have first inquired into the truth of their claim according to the convention made before the aforesaid persons.¹ But they were precluded from taking possession by David ap Llewelyn, the reigning prince of North Wales, who was doubtless offended by their submission to the king's authority. This prince, who had succeeded his father Llewelyn ap Jorwerth on April 11 of the previous year, to the exclusion of his elder brother Griffith, had submitted himself to the King of England, his uncle, at Gloucester, on May 19, 1240, and done homage for his principality. He had afterwards treacherously seized his brother Griffith ap Llewelyn at a conference to which he had invited him, and thus brought upon himself the enmity of many of the lords marcher and several of the chief nobility of Wales, and given the king a pretext for proceeding against him. His repeated neglect and evasion of the king's summons produced an angry letter from Henry, dated at Marlborough, July 14 (1241),² wherein, among other matters, David is charged with having unjustly deforced Owen Vaughan and *his nephews* of the lands which had been adjudged to them in the king's court, and ordered not to impede them in the peaceful enjoyment and possession of the said lands.³ These lands were doubtless restored to the rightful owners on David's ample submission to the king at the close of the following August.

It would seem that Owen Waghm (or Vaughan), the uncle, did not live many years after this; for among the barons of North Wales who did homage to the king at the commencement of the year 1245 are "*Lewelinus filius Lewelini de Methin*" and the two sons of "*Oweyn Wethan*."⁴

The name of one of the sons of Owen Vaughan (II) I do not meet with, but in 1258, among the barons of Scotland and Wales who bind themselves not to make peace with the King of England, except by mutual

¹ Excerpta e Rot. Fin., 25 Hen. III. ² Hist. Shrewsbury, i, p. 116.

³ Appendix to Powell's *History of Wales*. ⁴ Rymer's *Fœdera*.

consent, are "Vechan Owem" (III) and "Mared filius Leweliner dominus de Methem."¹

In the accounts of Bogo de Knovill, the king's custos of Oswestry (which are preserved in the Pipe Rolls) is an entry of 32s. realized from the land of Mecheyn (which the king had conquered from Llewelyn his "rebel") between July 2 and July 20, 1277, when his custody was transferred to Roger le Strange.²

The frequent recurrence of the name of Llewelyn among the Welsh princes and magnates at this period renders it almost hopeless to trace the history of each individual with any degree of certainty.

We have seen that Llewelyn, the son of Owen Vaughan ap Madoc of Mechain, had been succeeded in 1241 by a son Llewelyn who fined in that year to have seisin of his lands from the King of England, to whom also he did his homage in 1245. Before the year 1258 I imagine this Llewelyn (II) of Mechain to have been represented by two sons, viz., Mared or Meredith ap Llewelyn, lord of Mechain (who took part with Llewelyn ap Griffith, Prince of Wales in 1258), and Llewelyn (the third of that name in succession), who occurs in 1281 and the following year as Llewelyn Vaughan of Mechain. But we have also living at this same period a *Llewelyn*, son of Griffith ap Madoc of Bromfield, who held lands of the seigneurie of the lord of Bromfield, another *Llewelyn*, nephew to the last-mentioned and son of his elder brother Madoc Vaughan, lord of Bromfield and Lower Powis, and yet a fourth of the same family, bearing the same name, in the person of Llewelyn, the second son of Griffin ap Wenwynwyn, lord of Upper Powis.

It is *Llewelyn Vaughan*, the son of Llewelyn ap

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*. It would almost appear, from the repeated appellation of "de Methen" and "dominus de Methem," which is given to Llewelyn (II) and his family, that the one branch of the descendants of Owen ap Madoc had retained Mechain Iscoed for their inheritance, while the other may have been lords of Mochnant is Rhaiadr.

² Eyton's *Ant. of Shropshire*, x, p. 332.

Llewelyn of Methin, and great-grandson of Owen Vaughan (I) of Mechain Iscoed, that I take to be the person above described as Llewelyn the king's rebel, from whom he had conquered the land of Mecheyn in 1277. But we may be easily mistaken in this conjecture, for Llewelyn ap Griffith, Prince of Wales, is similarly described under the name of Llewelyn the king's rebel in this same year, and we know him to have been driven at this time from Kinnerley and certain possessions which he had lately acquired on the Borders.¹

Supposing the hereditary lord of a portion of Mechain, like most of his countrymen, to have sided with Llewelyn ap Griffith, Prince of Wales in these wars, it is very likely that the king, with a policy not unusual to the English Crown, may have granted his forfeited lands to Madoc Vaghan ap Griffith ap Madoc, representative of the senior line of the family, who, being the son of an English mother and (as I believe) the husband of an English wife, had most probably taken part with the King of England, as his father before him had done. I know not how otherwise to account for a claim to the land of Mechain which was afterwards advanced by the elder line. On the 4th of January, 1281, Margaret, the widow of Madoc Vaughan (who died about 1278), complained to the king that Llewelyn Vaghan had unjustly seized and occupied the land of Megheyn, which she asserted to be of the inheritance of Llewelyn and Griffin, the sons and heirs of the said Madoc, and which ought to have been in the custody of the said Margaret until her sons should have attained their majority. In answer to this complaint the king sent his writ to Roger de Mortimer and Walter de Hopton, ordering them to hear her complaint and to do her justice.²

But the question was doubtless settled by other means. In or about this same month the last war of

¹ Eyton's *Ant. of Shropshire*, xi, 27.

² Rot. Wall., 9 E. I, memb. 12 (dorso).

Llewelyn ap Griffith Prince of Wales broke out; and we may assume that he found a ready adherent in Llewelyn, the lord of Mechain. This war was terminated by the death of Llewelyn ap Griffith at the close of that year; and with it will have fallen the hopes of all who adhered to him.

On the 20th of May, 1282, Roger Mortimer has authority to receive to the king's peace the Welshmen of Lewelin Vaughan of Methelyn Ischoit.¹ And by charter dated at Salop on the 2nd of June following, the king granted to Roger Mortimer the younger, the lands which were of the property of Lewelin Vaughan, the king's enemy and felon, together with the dowers belonging to the said property whenever they shall happen to fall in.²

I have not been able to trace the fate of the other descendants of Owen Vaughan ap Madoc of Mechain Iscoed; but we have a writ of the date of November 10, 1281 (while the war was still pending), directed to "Mereduco filio Lewelini de Megheyn & participibus suis," which, after reciting that the king had been credibly informed that Griffin ap Wenwynwyn has been seized of their homage and service and of that of their ancestors the previous tenants of the land of Megheyn as well after as before the late disturbance in Wales, orders the said Meredith and his coparceners to render their homage and service to the said Griffin for the future, as their ancestors had been wont to do in time past, saving the king's claim to the same in case he should wish to prefer it.³

It would be difficult to ascertain how this claim had first arisen on the part of Griffin ap Wenwynwyn to be chief lord of the fee. It had the effect of making the representatives of a senior line the vassals of a junior but more flourishing branch of the house of Powis. And I suspect that the latter, either by escheat or by some other means, eventually acquired a more solid interest in the land of Mechain Iscoed.

¹ Rot. Wall., 10 E. I, memb. 7.

² Ib.

³ Ib., 6, 7, 8, 9, E. I, memb. 5 (dorso).

On February 9, 1283, Roger Sprengheose obtained a grant to him and his heirs for ever of all the land of Megthgheyn Iscoyt which Griffin Vaughan, the king's enemy and rebel, had held.¹ After which I meet with no further mention of any of the descendants of Owen Vaghan of Mechain.

G. T. O. B.

1862.

INQUISITION ON THE EFFECTS OF KING EDWARD II.

In a volume of minutes printed by the late Record Commissioners there are contained transcripts of four inquisitions taken before the commissioners appointed to inquire what became of the plate, horses, armour, and other goods, sent by King Edward II from Neath to Swansea, probably just before his surrender in November 1326. As this volume is of great scarcity, it has been thought desirable to place before the readers of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* an abstract of these documents in a translated form. They were copiously quoted by me at the Swansea Meeting.

They are sufficiently full to give a complete insight into the character of the record, though on another occasion it may be deemed advisable to reprint this curious inventory of the royal property in the original language.

In the Itinerary of King Edward II, which I have published in the *Collectanea Archæologica*, I have omitted to account for the residence of the monarch from the 10th of November 1326, when he was at Neath, till the 28th, when he was at Ledbury. The attention of Mr. Clarke, in his account of Caerphilly, was naturally addressed to the royal movements at this particular period; and his researches enable me to give his residence during this interval with more minuteness. He says, "as Edward is only certainly known to have been at Caerphilly on the 30th, and at Margam on the 4th,

¹ Rot. Wall., 11 E. I, memb. 3.

there remains an interval of not more than four whole days, and possibly a portion of two others, during which his wanderings are unrecorded." (p. 57).

"Walsingham makes him take water from Striguil. It seems, however, more probable that he went first to Caerphilly."

"He was seized on Sunday, 16th November, at Lantrissaint, gave up the Great Seal at Monmouth to Sir W. Blount 20th November; the next writ dated Ledbury, 13th November: finally the king was conveyed to Kenilworth on the 14th of November." (p. 59). The last writs signed by Edward occur on the fine and liberate roll, tested at Kenilworth, January 21, 1327.

INQUISITIO WALLENSIS DE SUBBOSCO.

To inquire what became of the plate, horses, armour, etc., sent by Edw. II from Neath to Swansea, just before his surrender in November 1326.

It is presented by Inquisition taken at Swansea on Monday next after the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in the second year of King Edward III after the Conquest, before Richard de Peshale and David de la Bere, assigned to inquire about the goods of the King Edward in the land of Gower in Wales, taken and carried away by the men of that land and parts adjacent, and the value of them, such as silver vessels, armour, and other things.

The First Inquisition states that King Edward, son of King Edward, sent from the castle of Neath to the town of Sweynes in the land of Gower 200 silver platters, worth £351; 100 silver saucers, worth 150 marks; 14 silver pitchers, 11 silver dishes, 9 silver basins, 5 silver cups.

It. 23 silver cups; 3 cups of maple, 8 haubergeons for the king's body; 7 haketons, and 2 haketons worked with a needle with fleurs-de-lys; 2 pairs of plates, gilt; 4 beds for the wardrobe of the king and his chapel; which goods and chattels were sent in the custody of John de Langton, then keeper of the aforesaid castle of Swansea and all the land of Gower.

Also some of the aforesaid goods were transported by Roger de Bosenho, Constable of Kidwelly, Walter Box, Cadogan ap Gre, Jevan Gallaved, and other men of the land of Kidwelly and Carnwaltham, by the consent of J. de Langton, to the value of —; and what remained were in his custody.

II.—INQUISITIO ANGLICANA PATRIÆ GOWERIÆ.

Second Inquisition taken before the same Richard and David, etc.

It is presented that William de Helpreston, Philip Laury, and William le Toukar had of the goods of our lord the king one sum of money, £200.

Also Skyrewyth le Tranter de Kerey had £10.

Also Philip Rees, £10.

Item. Res Drog has, as well from the payment of John de Langton as from his own individual caption, goods—to wit, armour, vases of silver, vestments, jewels, and other goods of various kinds, silver and gold, to the value of £400.

Item. William le Hunte had 1 robe, 1 sword, 1 bow and 12 arrows, and other goods of the value of £120.

It. John Langeton had, as well in silver vessels, noble vestments, choice armour, linen, money, etc., £300.

It. Robert Mauncel, 30s.

It. Hamundus Turbirvillus £20.

It. John ap Waltem Vaghan had 3 horses, 1 mule, and other goods to the value of £20.

It. David ap Waltham Vaghan, goods, £20.

It. Richard le Wolf, 1 dextrarius, 1 jaceraunt Regis, 1 capel de vinbrer, arms, etc., £100.

It. William ap Waltem Vaghan, goods, etc., 20.

It. John Testardus senior had 2 habergeons, 1 bacinet with an aventail, 1 capel de vinbrer, 1 pair of boots, 1 hood, 1 knife, 1 saddle, to the value of 103s. *iii*d.

It. Richard de Welles, armour, vests, money, and silver vessels, and other goods, worth £300.

Robert Penrigg, arms, vestments, etc., £25.

John Phelipp, 5s.

Then come horses, value 4s. and 8s. each, £12 4s.

John de Horton, 1 pair of gloves of plate, 1 silver pitcher, haketons, basinets, a pair of gauntlets, etc.

Robert Careman, 1 horn, of the value of 120s.

Which, with similar entries, make the sum of the Second Inquisition £2472 9s. 11d.

Afterwards Gilbert Talbot and Griffin de Cauntyagton, Arch^d. of Caermarthen were appointed to inquire more strictly concerning the particulars mentioned in the four earlier items in this Second Inquisition in the 13th of Edward III, Trin. term.

THIRD INQUISITION. Taken at Swansea before Richard de Peshale and David de la Bere on Saturday next after the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, in the 2nd of Edward III, by which it was presented that—

Roger de Bosenho, Constable of Kidwelly and Karnwatham, called the castle of Sweynes, entered and spoiled John Small, and others of his family, and took and carried away of the goods of our lord the king, viz. —Roger de Bosenho had 2 horses, armour, silver vessels, etc., to the value of £100.

The same Roger and Walter le Box had part of the chapel of the king, vests, vessels of silver, etc., £20.

Richard le Wolf had 3 capellæ de visura with their appendages, 1 gesceround, 1 hakeney.

Richard de Welles, 1 haketon, 1 habergeoun, 1 helmet, 1 aventail, 1 supertunic, 1 bel, 12 silver spoons, 2 gold rings, 1 saddle, 1 pair of gloves of plates, 1 zone of silk, 1 cross with two images of ivory, etc.

The same Richard had 7 horses, with caparisons and harness, worth £40.

Richard Wrench had 1 horn, worth 40s.

Robert Carman had 1 pair of knives, worth 40d.

John Quart, 1 horn, worth 9d.

John Testard, 1 saddle, 1 habergeon, 1 pair of gauntlets, and other goods, worth 40s.

Robert Carman had 2 horses, delivered by Henry Ditton, worth 16s.

Philip, rector of Penmagn, had 2 horses, one of which he restored, and the other he sold to John de Horton for 24s.

Thomas Eliot had 1 piece of silk furred with gryns, worth 6s., an ell long and wide.

Sum of Third Inquisition £661 7s. 7d.

FOURTH INQUISITION. Taken at Swansea on Tuesday, before the aforesaid Richard and David, of the goods sent by King Edward from the castle of Neath to the town of Swansea in Gower.

This recites first inventory, and states that these goods were under the custody of John de Langton, then keeper of it; but it is said that certain of the goods and chattels aforesaid were transported by Roger de Bosenho, Constable of Kedwelli, Walter le Box, Cadogan ap Gruffit, Jevan ap Gollaved, and other men of the land of Kedwelli and Karnwaltham, by the assent of the aforesaid J. de Langeton.

C. H. HARTSHORNE.

Obituary.

THE REV. JOHN JONES, M.A., Rector of Llanllyfni, Carnarvon.—The Association has been recently deprived of another of its earliest and most active members, in the person of the Rev. John Jones, M.A., Rector of Llanllyfni, near Carnarvon, who died on the 12th of February, 1863. He was born at Lleddfa'r Hall, near Machynlleth, in 1786, and had therefore attained the age of seventy-seven years, forty-three of which he spent at Llanllyfni as rector. He was educated at Bangor Grammar School, and from thence proceeded to Christ Church, Oxon, where he graduated in due course; and was inducted to his rectory in 1819. Of his early life, the following sketch is from the pen of the Rev. Morris Hughes, M.A., his old schoolfellow and college friend, now Rector of Llanbedr Goch, Anglesey:

"Pentraeth, Anglesey. 23 Feb., 1863.

....."Our acquaintance was of more than sixty years standing. When at Bangor School he was always at the head of his class; and, as a proof of his superior acquirements in general composition, he was invariably called out to read his themes openly to the school, when the masters always complimented him. He was far advanced as a classical scholar, but was ignorant of mathematics when he left school for Christ Church. When at school

he was studious beyond any one I ever knew. He never allowed himself any recreation, only on Saturday afternoon; and then he would walk for miles together,—and he was an excellent walker,—and would never give in. He was a very early riser: if not up at four, never, I think, in bed at five. When at Oxford, mathematics became his favourite study. His tutor was a very kind, gentlemanly man; no great scholar, but of a high family; and he became chaplain to the House of Commons. There were no classes at that time, so as to record the real standard of his attainments; but he was publicly complimented for the high order of his general examination. This would have amounted to a first-class in both classics and mathematics in these days. At that time scholars only pursued literature from an innate love of knowledge; but now every student has an object of self-advancement in view; now, if the 'tide is taken at the flood,' it is almost sure to lead to fortune; but then it was all a blank hazard. Favouritism and good connections were 'The Go.' He had not attained the age of eighty-one: he could not have been more than about seventy-seven.

"M. HUGHES."

Mr. Jones was one of the very first who joined our Association; and his contributions to the *Archæologia Cambrensis*,—the *Antiquitates Parochiales*, the *Arts and Agriculture of Britain*, the *Segontiaci*, etc.,—are some of the most valuable papers with which our pages have ever been enriched. He had studied antiquities all his life, and hence he naturally took a leading position in it, as soon as a scientific society came to exist for the purpose of studying Cambrian archæology. It is not saying too much to assert that, in point of deep reading and unusual recondite research, Mr. Jones was second only to Mr. Henry Hay Knight; and, in fact, his knowledge of the antiquities of North Wales was on a par with that of his reverend and learned brother in respect of those of the southern portion of the Principality. Mr. Jones seemed to have read all those books of ancient lore that other men do not read; and as a particular instance, out of others, we may mention that he had all the writers of the Lower and of the Byzantine Empire thoroughly within the scope of his knowledge. In regard to local antiquities and traditions, his stores of observation and personal acquaintance were very extensive. He knew all about Carnarvonshire and Merionethshire most intimately. It was impossible to be with him for an hour or so, without his pointing out things and circumstances connected with the early condition of his own county that were perfectly surprising; and unless notes upon them are to be found among his papers, it is to be feared that an immense body of local history and tradition has perished with him. He possessed a clear judgment; and, though his historical opinions may not be all assented to, yet they were never extravagant. He treated archæology in the right manner, as a science; and he brought to bear upon it all the accurate habits of thought which he derived from his mathematical acquirements. Besides the papers mentioned above, he has left behind him the following, which, through the kindness of his heirs and executors, have been placed at the disposal of the Association:

Six vols. MSS.—*Extenta Temporalium Episcopatus Bangor facta Anno Sexto Regni Regis Ed. Primi & computus pro iisdem facta Anno xxii^{do} Regni Regis Ricardi Sec. Notes, etc.*

An Essay on the Language and Learning of Britain under the Roman Government, with particular Reference to the Testimony of Martial and Juvenal.

An Essay on the History and Character of the Real Arthur, King of Britain. Dated Ap. 25th, 1820.

MS. on the Affinity between the English and Welsh.

Extracts from Record of Carnarvon, *with Notes*.

Many Notes, etc., on Etymology.

Notes on Irish Missions.

Royal Grants, etc., relating to Wales. Edw. I, II, III.

MS. headed, On the Best Notices of the Primitive Christians by whom the Welsh Churches were founded, and to whom dedicated.

Many scattered Notes on archæological subjects, genealogies, etc.

The example set by Mr. Jones should not be lost on the younger antiquaries who are rising up amongst us. They should remember his laboriousness, his exactitude, his reflecting, logical, and searching methods of inquiry. Everybody may imitate him in his constant attention to the remains and the history of his own county and neighbourhood; and we know of no two members whose memory should be more venerated by Welsh practical archæologists, than Mr. John Jones and Mr. Henry Hay Knight.

R. PERROTT, Esq.—One of our Breton friends has been called away at a ripe old age, but with mental powers vigorous as ever; in the full work of antiquarian pursuit, and at the very period when we could but ill spare him. We allude to Mr. Perrott of Nantes, who was among the first of the Breton antiquaries to join us, and whose contributions to the *Archæologia Cambrensis* are too recent and too well known to need any other than this passing allusion. He was an Englishman by birth, but had long been attached as English Professor to the University or *Académie* of Nantes; and here, amid the active duties of his position, he found the means of becoming most extensively acquainted with the antiquities of Brittany, of France, and of other parts of Europe. Mr. Perrott, as well as our other Breton members, had long been anxious to cooperate with his Cambrian brethren; and he with them commenced that system of mutual research and correspondence which will, we hope, hereafter be extensively and permanently developed. Mr. Perrott was a very minute and accurate observer, an indefatigable collector of notes, drawings, etc.; and we trust that many of his *reliquæ* will find their way into our pages. Cambrian antiquities cannot be thoroughly understood without a good knowledge of those of Brittany; and although there are now, happily, many members in both countries prepared to carry on their archæological researches in common, yet the absence of Mr. Perrott will certainly long be felt by them. We shall miss his ready aid, his voluminous correspondence, his untiring patience; and we shall not readily fill up the exact space which he so worthily occupied.

Correspondence.

DATE OF THE DEATH OF OWEN GLYNDWR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—In the Hengwrt MS. 133 (a manuscript of about the reign of Henry VIII, consisting of extracts from, or fragments of, the works attributed to Merddin and Taliesin), are inserted two vellum leaves of much older date, containing what appears to be a portion of a register of remarkable events. On one of these leaves is the following notification of the death of Owain Glyndwr: "Obitus Owain glyndwr die sancti mathei apostoli anno domini millimo ccccxv."

Then appears a notification of an eclipse of the sun in 1433; and then one of the death of Hen. V.

All these entries appear to be contemporary with the foregoing events; and, if I recollect, it is the only authentic record which has come to light of the death of Glyndwr.

W. W. E. W.

Peniarth, 1863.

RUTHIN CHURCH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—The following extract from Symond's *Diary* (published in 1859 by the Camden Society) gives some information regarding Ruthin Church not before generally known. The date, 1645, shews that the old chancel east of the tower arch was then standing. A fragment of its northern wall alone remains.

"Ruthyn Church, com. Denbigh.—East window. Chancel old. Under an arch, south wall of the belfray, between church and chancel, the statue (not described, and the portion of the inscription given not legible). Lowest north window. Chancel old. *Argent*, three bars *azure* in chief, three tor-teaux (Grey).

"(Grey) with a label of three points *gules*. West window. Church old and faire. Quarterly 1 and 4 *gules*. Three water bougets *argent* (Roos), 2 and 3 a fess between two barrulets *gules*.

"Quarterly 1 and 4 (Grey), 2 and 3 quarterly. 1 and 4 *gules* a maunch or (Hastings), 2 and 3 Barry.....marlles (Valence), *azure* a cinquefoil *ermine*.

"South window over the door. Quarterly 1, or a lion rampant *sable*; 2, *gules* a chevron or between three (blank) *sable* 3 and 4 (blank).

"Monument of Parry. *Sable* three boars' heads coupé *argent*.

"Monument of Jones. *Argent* a chevron between three boars' heads coupé *sable*."

Symond seems to have omitted the brasses of the Goodman family, as well as a slab to the memory of Thelwall of Plasyward, now inserted in the west wall, and somewhat defaced. The south aisle of the church was rebuilt about a hundred and sixty years ago; at which time the Sir Watkin of his day rebuilt the western wall of church, when, probably, the fair west window was destroyed. Churchill, I think, speaks of other monuments omitted in Symond's notice.

There used to be in the garden behind the cloisters a mutilated

statue, apparently of the later portion of the fourteenth century. This may be one mentioned in this notice. See the *Diary*, pp. 256, 257.

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

E. L. BARNWELL.

Archæological Notes and Queries.

Query 131.—KING.—The daughter of the Earl of Kingston (who was tried by his peers for the murder of her seducer) was sent to a clergyman's house in Wales, who was not informed of her name or history. Subsequently he married her, and the union was said to have been a very happy one. If there is no impropriety in asking such a question, may I inquire, if not the name, at least the residence, of the clergyman in question.

INQUIRER.

Query 132.—BRAGGOR.—Can any member of the Association, learned in such matters, inform another member of the nature of "braggor," a Welsh beverage of the time of Charles II? Howell, in his amusing letters, enumerates metheglyn, braggor, and mead, as the three native beverages; but adds, they only differ in potency. This statement seems to disagree with a somewhat general notion that the Saxon mead is only equivalent to the Welsh metheglyn. A MEMBER.

Answer to Query 125.—ROMAN ROAD, MERIONETHSHIRE.—The late Mr. Williams (ab Ithel) informed me some time ago that, in his wanderings over the hills in his district (Llanymowddu), he had found a Roman road which terminated in a fork: one branch leading towards Mons Heriri; and the other in a more northerly direction, towards Cerrigydrudion. This second branch is probably one of the four ancient roads diverging from the large camp or station opposite the hotel at Cerrigydrudion. If my memory does not deceive me, Mr. Williams thought the road he discovered led towards Oswestry—a line which would nearly take in Clawdd Coch.

M.A.

Reviews.

THE CASSITERIDES; AN INQUIRY INTO THE COMMERCIAL OPERATIONS OF THE PHŒNICIANS IN WESTERN EUROPE, WITH A PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE BRITISH TIN TRADE. By G. SMITH, LL.D., F.S.A., etc. 12mo. London: Longman & Co., 1863.

WE have just received this interesting little work, and read it with much satisfaction. Until recently it was generally allowed that the Phœnicians obtained tin from Cornwall, and supplied it to a large portion of the ancient world; but of late, eminent writers, such as Mr. Cooley in his *History of Maritime and Inland Discovery*, and especially Sir G. C. Lewis in the *Historical Sketch of the Astronomy of the Ancients*, have stoutly resisted that view, and hold that probabilities are strongly opposed to the idea that the Phœnicians ever traded with

Cornwall. They base their opinion upon the imperfection of ancient navigation, and the great distance of Britain from Tyre. That tin was an article of commerce at an exceedingly early date in the world's history, cannot be denied. It was used in the manufacture of bronze by the Egyptians, and all the civilized nations of extreme antiquity, long, apparently, before the discovery of iron. It was certainly used by the wild tribes of Europe, who had no knowledge of the latter metal. It is mentioned by Homer, and in the Book of Numbers. As far as can be learned, the civilized nations obtained it from the merchants of Tyre; but from whom the European uncivilized people derived it, is as yet, and may probably always remain, unknown. It is a remarkable fact that the proportion of copper and tin in the bronze articles used in Egypt, Greece, and by the wild people of the European forests and lakes, is always found to be very nearly the same. It is, therefore, exceedingly hard to believe that the knowledge of bronze was not in all these cases derived originally from some common source and some civilized nation. What people more likely than the active, energetic, and intelligent traders and navigators of Phœnicia? Mr. Cooley regarded the place from whence the tin was derived as certain. He believes that it came from India to Egypt. That the mines of Banca, in the East Indies, were the source of all the ancient supplies; and that it was only at a much later period that the mines of Spain and Cornwall furnished this metal.

Although we cannot now obtain much information concerning the course of trade in the very earliest ages, we nevertheless possess an exceedingly complete account of that from and to the Mediterranean and its coasts to the south and east of the Red Sea; between Alexandria and India and Africa. This is contained in the *Periplus* of Arrian, a merchant navigator of Egypt, who is believed to have lived in the reign of Nero. He must be carefully distinguished from the much more celebrated Arrian of Nicomedia, who wrote a life of Alexander the Great. He was simply an intelligent merchant and apparently skilful sailor; for he appears to have visited most of the places mentioned in his curious work. He gives catalogues of the articles in request, and to be obtained at each port; just such as a modern merchant might make for his own use in arranging the cargoes of his vessels. Mr. Cooley refers to his *Periplus* as an authority for the statement that tin came to Europe from India; but the contents of the book do not justify his allegations. Dr. Smith gives long and curious extracts from Arrian's lists of imports and exports, and shews from them that the trade with the east had then the same character as it has ever since retained. But as our author's subject is the trade in tin, he does not discuss the general question, but confines himself to his special object. According to Cooley, Arrian's book should shew that India was the source of tin; that this "metal has been in all ages a principal export of India"; and that "it is enumerated as such by Arrian." But no such information is to be found in Arrian. There is no trace of tin being carried from the east or the south to Egypt. Tin occurs in Arrian's lists as known and recognized as an export from Egypt to India and Arabia. Many articles, the produce of remote

parts of the east, even as far off as China, were brought from India, but no tin. It has been said that it probably came by land as a safer mode of transport; but gold, specie, and diamonds, were sent by sea, and not tin. If the more valuable and portable went by sea, surely the more bulky and less valuable would be so sent. If the east was able to get tin from Banca, it is not likely that merchants would take it from Egypt. It would be like "taking coals to Newcastle."

Tin was abundant in Phœnicia as early as B.C. 600, and was well known much earlier in Palestine. We are told that it came from Tarshish. Now the position of that place or country has been a matter of controversy; but as it is clear that the east did not supply tin, we have to look westwards for the place so called. All agree that the markets of Tyre distributed tin to the whole of the then known world, and we have to discover from whence in the west the Tyrians obtained it.

Dr. Smith then enters upon a most interesting discussion of the navigation and colonies of the Phœnicians; and shews that they were able and accustomed to make the long voyage to Gades (the present Cadiz), which was one of their colonies, established, as shewn by Mr. Kenrick, as early as the twelfth century before the Christian æra. But tin was abundant at Tyre much earlier than that time. Also it is clear that the establishment of the Phœnicians at Gades was preceded by extensive settlements on the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, even as far as the Straits of Gibraltar, and that they were therefore even then highly skilled as navigators. There seems, thus, no difficulty in believing that the colonists of Gades, or even the seamen of Tyre and Sidon, could sail as far as Cornwall, which is nearer to the former place than that place is to Tyre. But we have not space to enter into the discussion of this question. We advise our readers to obtain and study Dr. Smith's book.

Dr. Smith shews that Spain is not likely ever to have produced sufficient tin to supply the ancient trade in that metal; and Sir Cornwall Lewis, although he does not believe that Phœnician ships sailed to this island, allows that "it cannot be doubted that Britain was the country from which the tin sold by the Phœnicians to the Greeks was chiefly procured." It has been said that the tin was landed on the north coast of Gaul, transferred by land to Marseilles, and taken from thence by the Tyrian ships. Now the trade certainly existed at least as early as 1200 B.C., and Marseilles not sooner than about 600 B.C.; also, the tribes of Gaul were rarely on friendly terms with that Greek city, the citizens of which had often as much as they could do to defend themselves from their warlike and hostile inland neighbours. Is it likely, then, that the tin trade should have passed overland under such circumstances, even at the period succeeding 600 B.C.? And is it not almost impossible that it could have done so in the prior ages of its ascertained existence? After Julius Cæsar had reduced all Gaul to dependence on Rome, it naturally took that course; but not sooner. Dr. Smith shews to our satisfaction, that it was carried in Phœnician vessels from Cornwall to Gades, and from thence to the Mediterranean. He has produced a work highly creditable to his

learning and research. We have stated enough to shew that this book well deserves the attention which, no doubt, it will receive; and conclude by cordially congratulating the author upon its publication.

WILD WALES. By G. BORROW. 3 vols. 8vo. London: Murray. 1862.

THIS book does not come altogether within the scope of such a publication as our Journal. It belongs rather to the romance genus: it is almost of the novel kind, although it purports to refer to Wales. It does not profess to be either an history of Wales, or a statistical or even a picturesque account of the country. It is simply a sort of record kept by the author, of his sayings and doings, as he made a pedestrian excursion in 1854. He came, however, into Wales with a purpose not far removed from archæology; for, being well read in the writings of the Welsh bards, he wanted to find out the localities where they lived, and those where they were buried. This took him into very remote and little known spots; but it also made him visit others of an opposite character, such as Valle Crucis and Strata Florida. Wherever the author went, whether by the road side, or on the mountain top, in the farmer's kitchen, or in that of the publichouse, he made it his practice to get into conversation with everybody he met; and nearly all that he said or heard is put down in one or other of these three volumes. These conversations are highly characteristic both of the author and of the people; many of them are highly amusing, but they are not archæological. We cannot, therefore, make observations on any of them; but will pass on to recommend our readers who are fond of bardic recollections, to hunt up carefully for the author's impressions when he visits such a spot as the dwelling of Goronwy Owen at Llanfair Mathafarn Eithaf, in Anglesey; or the burial-place of Davydd ap Gwilym at Strata Florida. He shews a laudable spirit to keep alive the recollection of men who have done honour to their country; and the mere fact of himself, as a stranger and a Saxon, coming into Wales, like another "OLD MORTALITY," to find out the graves of departed worthies, ought to be a lesson to ourselves to look after their graves on our own account, and to hand down all mementoes, and traditions concerning them, as carefully as we can, to posterity.

It is not a very common thing to find an English author troubling himself to learn Welsh: that Mr. Borrow has done so, is a compliment to the Principality; and we hope that his book may serve him as an introduction to our most celebrated *literati*, of whose existence, we fancy, he is totally unaware.

As a favourable specimen of Mr. Borrow's descriptive powers, we will quote the account of his visit to Plynlymon, in order that he may drink at the sources of its three rivers. He is accompanied up the mountain by an intelligent guide, with whom he carries on the conversation in the following passage:

"The source of the Rheidol is a small beautiful lake, about a quarter of a mile in length. It is overhung on the east and north by frightful crags, from which it is fed by a number of small rills. The water is of the deepest blue and of very considerable depth. The banks, except to the north and

east, slope gently down, and are clad with soft and beautiful moss. The river, of which it is the head, emerges at the south-western side, and brawls away in the shape of a considerable brook, amidst moss and rushes, down a wild glen tending to the south. To the west the prospect is bounded, at a slight distance, by high, swelling ground. If few rivers have a more wild and wondrous channel than the Rheidol, fewer still have a more beautiful and romantic source.

"After kneeling down and drinking freely of the lake, I said, 'Now, where are we to go next?'

"The nearest ffinnon to that of the Rheidol, sir, is the ffinnon of the Severn."

"Very well," said I; 'let us now go and see the ffinnon of the Severn.'

..... "I followed him up a narrow and very steep dingle. Presently we came to some beautiful little pools of water in the turf, which was here remarkably green.

"These are very pretty pools, an't they, master?" said my companion. 'Now, if I was a false guide, I might bid you stoop and drink, saying that these were the sources of the Severn; but I am a true cyfarwydd, and therefore tell you not to drink, for these pools are not the sources of the Hafren, no more than the spring below. The ffinnon of the Severn is higher up the nant. Don't fret, however, but follow me, and we shall be there in a minute.'

"So I did as he bade me, following him, without fretting, higher up the nant. Just at the top he halted and said: 'Now, master, I have conducted you to the source of the Severn. I have considered the matter deeply, and have come to the conclusion that here, and here only, is the true source. Therefore stoop down and drink, in full confidence that you are taking possession of the Holy Severn.'

"The source of the Severn is a little pool of water some twenty inches long, six wide, and about three deep. It is covered at the bottom with small stones, from between which the water gushes up. It is on the left hand side of the nant, as you ascend, close by the very top. An unsightly heap of black turf-earth stands just above it to the north. Turf-heaps, both large and small, are in abundance in the vicinity.

"After taking possession of the Severn by drinking at its source, rather a shabby source for so noble a stream, I said, 'Now let us go to the fountain of the Wye.'

"A quarter of an hour will take us to it, your honour," said the guide, leading the way.

"The source of the Wye, which is a little pool, not much larger than that which constitutes the fountain of the Severn, stands near the top of a grassy hill which forms part of the Great Plynlimmon. The stream, after leaving its source, runs down the hill towards the east, and then takes a turn to the south. The fountains of the Severn and the Wye are in close proximity to each other. That of the Rheidol stands somewhat apart from both, as if, proud of its own beauty, it disdained the other two for their homeliness. All three are contained within the compass of a mile."

Perhaps it is not fair to criticize a literary and poetical tourist for faults of archaeology; but when once they get into print, they become fair objects of animadversion. Thus the author believes in Hu Gadarn, Taliesin's poems, Prince Madoc, etc., etc. He cannot see, he says, why Monmouthshire should be reckoned an English county,—not knowing that it never formed a Welsh one. He declares that Edward II was born in Carnarvon Castle; and so forth.

One mistake would be too ludicrous, if it were really a *bonâ fide* one; but it occurred at St. David's College, Lampeter; and he did not

know that collegians there, as elsewhere, are fond of a joke,—just as they would be at Oxford, at the expense of a “freshman”; and so when he visits the magnificent library of that college, he records the following with all the simplicity of a real “Verdant Green”:

“The grand curiosity is a manuscript codex, containing a Latin synopsis of Scripture, which once belonged to the monks of Bangor Iscoed. It bears marks of blood, with which it was sprinkled when the monks were massacred by the heathen Saxons at the instigation of Austin, the pope’s missionary in Britain!”

Risum teneatis, amici? However, he had just come from Llanddewi Brefi, where he admits that he saw the sacramental cup of Queen Elizabeth’s time (the inscription on which he reads erroneously); but he never says a word about St. David’s staff, and the other ancient monuments and the early inscribed stones in the churchyard!

We shall not criticize him for his archæological blunders; but we shall warn our readers most decidedly against the bad taste which he displays in always abusing “Papists,” and in flinging at the monks even in such hallowed, soul-entrancing spots as Valle Crucis and Strata Florida. We do not envy any man his feelings who can visit such places with a single uncharitable thought. At Valle Crucis, too, the author has the misfortune of altogether mistaking the excellent guardian of the spot, whom he calls “a woman,” not a lady; and whom he treats evidently with very scant measure of civility. Throughout his book, unfortunately too, there reigns an evident spirit of vulgar, democratic feeling; so that when he goes to see the pictures at Chirk Castle, he has nothing better to say about them than to abuse the Stuarts! A writer of this kind, if he could be supposed to be in earnest, ought not to come into Wales till he has mended his manners and his principles.

Two little pieces of archæological service he has done us, unwittingly, for which we thank him. He is on his way from Llanarmon Dyffryn Ceiriog to Llanrhaeadr yn Mochnant, and wandering about along a road now little frequented, comes to a place which the occupiers tell him is called *Pen Street*. This we believe will serve to determine a point on a line of Roman road branching from the Clawdd Coch line to Caer Gai, and possibly forming a short cut to regain the main road from *MEDIOLANUM* to *DEVA*.

Again, when he visits *Sycharth*, Owen Glendower’s residence, near Llangedwin (now only a mound), he says that, in the foss going round it, he observed it to be full of *large red bricks*. If so, this proves the existence of a Roman station there before the gallant Welsh chieftain built on it, which has hitherto not been suspected.

Mr. Borrow shews such a kindly spirit towards Wales, that we recommend him to study the history and antiquities of the Principality as well as its poetical literature. He may then return to the country with better spirit; and as his pen is evidently a facile one (though it does not run here with all the *verve* of the *Bible in Spain*, the first work by which he became known), he may write another book on the ancient remains of Wales higher in tone, more genial in feeling, and more correct in statements of facts.
